

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO WHETHER THE WEEKLY
NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS REPORTED UNETHICALLY ON
SOUTH AFRICA'S 2014 GENERAL ELECTIONS: A
CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE *CITY PRESS*,
SUNDAY TIMES AND THE *MAIL & GUARDIAN***

BY

VILOSHNEE NAIDOO

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SUPERVISOR: Professor Stefan Sonderling

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DECLARATION

Name: Viloshnee Naidoo

Student number 36522147

Degree: Master of Communication Science

Title of dissertation: An investigation into whether the weekly national newspapers reported unethically on South Africa's 2014 General Elections: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian*

I declare that the above dissertation is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



SIGNATURE

10 November, 2018

DATE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my very special, only, late, big sister Suraya Naidoo who passed away from Lupus in March, 2012. You wanted me to achieve this ‘for the both of us’. Although you won’t see my completed work, I know how proud you would have been of me. This is for you!

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates whether or not the press reported unethically on South Africa's 2014 General Elections in the weekly national newspapers the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian*. This study was undertaken on the basis of the ongoing contention between the press and the state which has resulted in polarised positions between both institutions amid accusations of press bias. It has given voice to measures to regulate the press through a Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT) and proposed state regulation. This could negatively impact free speech, public interest and ultimately democracy. This researcher contends that this will not be in the best interest of South Africa. Through this study, it is argued that an ethical press that executes a libertarian duty to society, integrating a watchdog role over the state, while simultaneously overseeing its social responsibility to society, upholds the welfare of society and democracy and should therefore not be regulated by the state. The elections thus forms an important platform for the press to demonstrate unbiased ethical reportage to the state in the wake of being regulated and prove its fundamental role in society's interest and democracy.

Therefore, to determine whether the election coverage was ethical or unethical, the problem investigated whether the press, that is, the print medium in the form of the newspaper, reported truthfully, in a balanced manner and independently for South Africa's 2014 General Elections, upholding its watchdog and social responsibility roles. This was done through a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the front-page news reports of the aforementioned national newspapers for the cross sectional time-frame of 13 April to 11 May, 2014. This study argues that language is the most important channel of communication for the exchange of ideas and can be used as an instrument to calculatedly manipulate message and reinforce a particular viewpoint. Hence, it contends that CDA can effectively be utilised as a conceptual framework for language analysis to determine unethical press coverage by journalists.

The study identifies and applies two significant theoretical models that is, the Libertarian and Social Responsibility models for the elections which further serves as a form of triangulation to verify the results of the CDA. The study challenges the conventions of a distinct libertarian or a social responsibility model for the press, arguing that both models are not mutually exclusive for the elections. The analysis shows that the press apply both social responsibility and libertarian roles simultaneously in election reporting. It further maps out the incorporation of the developmental journalism model where the press upholds the best interests of both the electorate and the state ethically, without the requirement of a state-regulated media.

KEY TERMS

Ethical/unethical reporting; truth; balance; independence; Normative ethics; Social Responsibility theory; Libertarian theory; Developmental journalism; General elections; Critical Discourse Analysis measuring instrument; watchdog journalism, press freedom

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
COPE	Congress of the People
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DA	Democratic Alliance
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KZN	Kwa-Zulu Natal
MAT	Media Appeals Tribunal
MMA	Media Monitoring Africa
NMG	Nation Media Group
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers (South Africa)
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers in South Africa
PCSA	Press Council of South Africa
PDMSA	Print and Digital Media South Africa
PFC	Press Freedom Commission
SA	South Africa
SAARF	South African Advertising Research Foundation
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SANEF	South African National Editors' Forum
SPJ	Society of Professional Journalists (United States)

CHAPTER 1

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

A fundamental discussion pertaining to the media in South Africa by both media practitioners and political figures centres on the role the media ‘ought’ to play in society. In the context of this discussion, it must be remembered that role is underpinned by the political and social ideologies of the people debating. Institutions discuss political ideologies such as liberalism, free speech and Ubuntuism. It is these philosophies that speak to libertarian and social responsibility values of the press, where a western liberal press often conflicts with traditional communal beliefs.

The selection of the press in this study specifically refers to the English-language print medium in the form of the newspaper. It is distinguished from printed magazines, broadcast media which includes radio and television as well as electronic media including online newspapers. The selected newspapers are national newspapers and weekly publications. In SA, the English-language press has been deeply criticised by both the government and academic research opinion alike, for their coverage of societal events with substantial debate on freedom of the press and developmental journalism ongoing. While the state has criticised the press for lack of transformation and bias in reporting on the one hand, academic literature, including Duncan (2015), Hadland (2012) and Reid (2012) argue issues of recurring trends in election reporting, press-party parallelism and paucity in reporting respectively, on the other. A relationship between the press and the state still steeped in deep hostility twenty-four years into democracy raises concerns of the impact this may have on how the press reports on democratic political events such as elections and any ethical imputations that negatively impact public interest. With the focus on the newspaper, this thesis aims to determine whether the press reported truthfully, independently and in a balanced manner, upholding both the watchdog (Libertarian) and social responsibility roles to determine ethical or unethical reporting for the 2014 General Election in South Africa.

The methodology applied in the research study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for examining the front page hard news (straight) news reports sampled from the weekly national newspapers, the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian*. It is a linguistic study of the newspaper reports to find critical insights into how the press actually covered the elections and point to any ethical breaches. CDA views language as a social practice and thus

is a combination of both the social and linguistics that help highlight ethical or unethical press reporting for the elections. We can then determine if there is merit to the criticisms from academic and government quarters on press bias.

The starting point of this chapter is the exploration and highlighting of the context of the press in the current South African political landscape which includes important background information of the current press-government relationship. An overview of media ethics is further provided to help understand its relationship with the press. The problem statement, research issue, research questions, limitations, significance and contributions of study follow the above discussion in this chapter.

1.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The primary motivation for an ethics study on the press originate from condemnations by various segments of society including the governing African National Congress (ANC) and academic scholars and journalists. The state has argued that the press is predisposed to biased proclivities and hostility toward them. The press, according to Prinsloo (2014:3) “are described as engaged in “ideological battles and power relations based on race, class and gender in our society. It cannot claim that its role is merely to reflect (ANC 2010, item 53)”. Conversely, academic scholars argue on the issues of political parallelism, repeated patterns in reporting and lack of exhaustive coverage of social issues such as the elections. A research study by Jones (2004) on SA newspapers indicate unethical reporting in the run-up to the 1994 elections. In the current study, case studies on the elections are utilised because a fundamental role of the press in the elections is to safeguard democracy, hence the need to be ethical in its reporting for the public. The background expands on the censures of the press next. With the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, there is a conspicuous contentious relationship between the press and the government. Following apartheid’s eradication, both institutions have arguably struggled to come to terms with renegotiating their roles and responsibilities in a new democracy. Democracy presumes an independent press, where its freedom is safeguarded in the Constitution, while the government envisages a democracy that places national interest foremost. The press has been subjected to persistent criticism for not being ‘transformational’ and for being ‘anti-ANC’ and out of touch with the majority. Duncan (2011:2) explains that:

The ANC has argued further that white dominance, coupled with a lack of diversity, has created a mismatch between the values espoused in the media (especially the print media) and the values promoted by the ANC, including a commitment to a developmental state, collective rights, the values of a caring and sharing community, solidarity, ubuntu, non-sexism and working together.

A societal thinking on respect and allegiance to the elders postulates a patriarchal government and an inclination toward developmental journalism in the state interest, underpinned by these government criticisms. For Hadland (2012:108) “the trend itself is delineated by an inherent dichotomy unique to postcolonial state formation: on the one hand, the imperative to embrace the principles and political processes of democracy, and on the other hand, the strength of values such as loyalty to or respect of tribal elders that are inimical to a prying, critical media together with a national development agenda that demands the media’s co-option by an acquisitive state”. The issue of political parallelism and one party dominance are two standout points here that take root from Hadland’s (2012) discussion on state control (Section 2.4 in Chapter 2).

Subsequently, the ANC have advanced discussions on the need for state control over the press which has culminated in the proposal of state intervention. This was highlighted at the ANC’s conference in Polokwane in 2007 where the viability of a Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT) for the press was proposed as a means to challenge its self-regulatory system. The English-language press has been accused of aligning itself with specific class interest in line with a specific economic status in South Africa. According to Thloloe (2012:123), the ANC “challenged the existing self-regulatory system (press ombudsman and Press Council) declaring this ineffective and needing to be strengthened to balance the rights of the media with those of our citizens, guided by the values of human dignity, equality and freedom enshrined in the Bill of Rights”.

While the harshest criticisms have come from government, another form stems from academic opinion and research. Specifically, in the election context, opposing views of the 2004 election is apparent where press-party parallelism in favour of the ANC is discussed by Hadland (2012). In 2014, an election report by Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) explored and highlighted a lack of comprehensive coverage of basic communal issues including those of education, unemployment, gender and crime, negatively impacting the public. The reporting mirrors that of the 2009 election in that, although free and fair, the trends of lack of inclusive coverage remained the same. To reinforce the critical views, Reid (2012) wrote in an article entitled ‘Media freedom debacles aside, the press is failing us’ in the *Daily Maverick* that some journalist’s work do not reflect the issues of society. Reid (2012) argues that “the Press Council and Press Freedom Commission reviews were a lost opportunity for constructive self-criticism” adding “the threatening atmosphere, which had us all feeling that press freedom was

at stake, was never going to produce a platform on which to debate how and why the press errs (on occasion)". Reid (2012) further points out that the dogged focus of journalists on the Secrecy Bill and the Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT) advocates that press regulation has taken on primary importance where the press is at a point of self-reflection. Reid (2012) goes on to say that:

I say this because we are at a critical juncture in the history of our country and the press, most of it, has behaved in a manner that is more than disappointing. This is a disaster because when considering the press's important role in promoting the citizenry's right to access to information, it is precisely at historical nodal points such as these that we rely on the press to be really on the ball.

What is of importance here is that there is evidence of marginalising of the electorate have been documented and gives strength to the goals of this thesis, galvanising the debate for an equitable press for the elections.

These press criticisms are significant for two reasons. Firstly it is constructing a setting for the press to work in the state's interest and a developmental state. This is dangerous for public interest and contradicts our understanding of democracy. The press argues for freedom of expression and the public's right to know whereas the state would argue responsibility to national interest. Freedom of the media postulates a free, independent and pluralistic press and this researcher argues that press freedom is at the heart of any discussion that deals with social ills like poverty or unemployment. Moreover, developmental journalism (detailed in Chapter 2) suggests the press becoming an instrument for achieving social change, advancing policies and tasks that, arguably, primarily align with state interest. These are contradictory ideological views that suppress a free press. If the MAT is any indication to go by, state regulation and national interest could dangerously transcend freedom of expression and public interest. Hence, an adversarial press, not mindful of transformation and diversity in South Africa – as government argues - gives government concerns legitimacy and must be countered by the press.

Secondly, as reflected by academic criticisms, the press have not reported sufficiently on the elections and have consequently not properly informed the reader and electorate. It indicates that there is a possibility that unethical reporting is likely consistent with ethical principles necessary for the elections. This would mean that the electorate have been overlooked and this conflicts with a press that claims to speak in the public interest with a fundamental ethical duty to report the truth (explored in Section 2.3 in Chapter 2).

1.2.1 Amendments by the Press

In fairness to the press, after meetings between the South African National Editors' Forum (Sanef) and government in October 2010 and the establishment of the independent Press Freedom Commission (PFC) in July 2011, by the Print and Digital Media South Africa (PDMSA) and Sanef, the Press Council resolved to review its self-regulatory process and address any limitations identified. In January 2013, the press accountability system shifted from it being classified as self-regulatory to that of independent co-regulation with both public and press participation, excluding government involvement. The revised Press Code, Constitution and Complaints Procedure have been adopted in the Press Council of South Africa (PCSA). In becoming more receptive to the public, the Press Council has now allowed for the inclusion of the public in its new complaints procedure. Reid (2014:65) states that "according to the new complaints procedure, the Press Council will now receive complaints not only from persons who are directly affected by an alleged breach of the press code, but also from 'anyone acting as a member of, or in the interest of, a group or class of persons; and as an association acting in the interest of its members' (ibid)." According to Press Council's Review Report [2011], one of the aims and objectives of the PCSA is "to promote and to develop ethical practice in journalism and to promote the adoption of and adherence to those standards by the South African press". This offers the press a basic ethical framework as a point of departure where the Press Ombudsman has provided an independent complaints platform that is guided by the code. It ensures that the public would be served through mediation and adjudication. The next section outlines media ethics to offer a general synopsis pertaining to the legal and regulatory framework in South Africa.

1.3 MEDIA ETHICS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

During apartheid, the press was restricted and its ethics dovetailed with the regime's needs and dictates. The press was believed to be influenced by the politics of the day, concealing the apartheid government's transgressions. According to research by Hadland (2012:97) "pre-1994, media audiences were very clearly demarcated by race and by language, and print and broadcast media products were unambiguous about their targeting" adding "this separatism was founded on the political ideology of the day, which espoused (and enforced) the separation of the population according to race". Hadland (2007:10) writes "indeed, laws had been framed during the apartheid era that expressly forbade newspapers and magazines from reporting on black political leaders or parties or even from covering important political and social developments if they occurred in zones designated as black living areas".

The current thesis consistently argues that freedom of the press is arguably one of the most fundamental platforms to ensure free and fair elections and for upholding democracy by reporting educating and arming the electorate with information to make informed choices. There is indeed a synergistic relationship between democracy and the press. According to Smith (2019) “one of the most critical institutions needed to ensure free and fair elections in a democracy is a free and independent media”.

The word ‘Democracy’ is derived from the Greek word ‘demos-kratos’ that essentially means ‘the rule of the people’ and which postulates a government elected by the people. South Africa became a democratic state after its 1994 General Elections and now functions under a Constitutional democracy which was adopted in 1996. It is the highest law in the country and cannot be overruled by the state. Democracy in SA means there is constitutional limits to state power where both the state and the citizens balance rights with responsibilities. Within this majority rule, minority rights and individual rights such as free speech are constitutionally safeguarded. Section 16 of the Bill of Rights, part of the Constitution, (detailed on Page 22), ensures that freedom of the press is guaranteed and protected. Elections in a democracy ensures that the people are able to choose their preferred political candidate. Furthermore, the electoral process in a democracy ensures the selection of an accountable government, members of parliament and councillors. This allows for the shaping of policy decisions and citizen participation in how a country is being governed.

Granted, with the threat of state regulation looming and new threats to journalists in online media environments where journalists are harassed and threatened through trolling, it is the contention of this researcher that democracy has ensured that the press in South Africa functions autonomously in society. According to Smith (2019), “we have a vibrant civil society working continuously to ensure media quality and freedom are promoted and realised”. This is reverberated by Bird (2019) who further highlights that “we have high levels of media freedom and when we compare these to the other countries in our region or the continent we probably fail to appreciate just how free our society is”, adding, “we have generally good and progressive laws and in many respects, our country leads the way when it comes to things such as media being allowed to report and broadcast criminal trials”.

Thus, it is in the election context that press ethics within South Africa’s constitutional democracy, is investigated. Defined by Ward (2015:4) “ethics is the activity of constructing,

critiquing and enforcing norms, principles, and aims to guide individual and social conduct.” Ward (2015:5) adds that ethics is applicable to “individuals, groups, institutions, professions and countries”. It concerns how we ‘ought to live’, what is right or wrong and living rightly with others. It highlights morality (discussed in Chapter 2), human dignity and diplomacy and calls into account the conduct as well as the character of everyone, and specifically for this thesis, the profession of journalism. Briefly, ethics is related to morality wherein it is determined as a set of beliefs or system to determine “right from wrong” while ethics is a process of rational balanced reasoning and suitable guidelines when our beliefs are in conflict in accordance with norms and principles. Hence, both intersect help make decisions between good and bad. Ward (2015:33) argues that ethics is an important ‘social practice’ of specific norms of conduct for society to uphold right relations. Subsequently, Ward (2015:34) puts forward that:

Ethics should not be conceived of as unchanging “content” – a static code of principles, or a system of absolute truths apart from human interests or history. Instead ethics refers to a view of what rules people should follow to govern their conduct; a set of proposals on what norms our social practices should follow.

The theoretical strategies for this thesis are the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories which form part of the Four Theories of the Press. Ethics is theoretically integrated in the normative framework of these press theories and can be applied to the South African context. This is further explained in Chapter 2. We can also locate ethics within the philosophy of “normative ethics” which seeks to establish how things ought to be and which actions are right or wrong. It also covers the normative ethical theories of utilitarianism and deontology which is explicated in Chapter 2.

As a practice, to choose the best possible action, it is the application of guidelines through codes of conduct such as the South African Press Code. This suggests that journalists ought to report news accurately and exercise impartiality. Ethics practice can use normative theories as succinct guides to determine the rightness or wrongness of actions or consequences. Thus, according to Oosthuizen (2002:12) “media ethics is a branch of philosophy that deals with what is morally permissible for media workers to do, and what is not” adding “it provides guidelines to identify the best alternative actions within the broader communicational context, and how to choose between them”.

In delineating the ethical guidelines that oversee press conduct, Oosthuizen (2002:121) articulates “when reporting news, members undertake to do such reporting truthfully,

accurately and impartially, in a balanced, contextual and factual manner (without distortion, exaggeration, misrepresentation, or material omission”. Therefore, by being truthful, impartial, accurate, moral, of good conduct and character; and by being able choose between right and wrong, journalists will be ethical and report the news in a manner that informs and educates citizens without undue influence. Even though a newspaper subscribes to a specific code of ethics that guides its work and how it perform its tasks, even the most objective and independent of reporting can be informed by journalistic ideologies. It can shape how some of the most important events are reported - either by understating details or misinforming the public. Retief (2002:4) points out “...everything a journalist writes or says, or neglects to write or to say, in some or other way has an influence on people. And influences can be good or bad”. A sound ethics is therefore required for even the most neutral of storytellers. The current thesis will argue that it is possible that different newspapers can frame the elections differently. Reporting subsequently becomes a navigation between the actual event and the inclinations of the journalist through language use. If bias is inherent, it is important to find out if such bias leads to unethical reporting. This research now turns to an elucidation of codes of ethics to offer a description of the media ethical codes that journalism prescribe to. It begins with a universal understanding of ethics before an illumination of the South African press code.

1.3.1 Codes of Ethics: The South African Press Code

Today, media ethics is recognised and applicable globally in most democratic countries wherein codes of ethics are formulated from specific media ethical concerns in different societies. A comprehensive code in the United States is that of the prominent US Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ). Their preamble which was revised in 2014 seeks and encourages ethical responsibility in journalism through adherence to their guidelines. It reads as follows:

Members of the Society of Professional Journalists believe that public enlightenment is the forerunner of justice and the foundation of democracy. The duty of the journalist is to further those ends by seeking truth and providing a fair and comprehensive account of events and issues. Conscientious journalists from all media and specialties strive to serve the public with thoroughness and honesty. Professional integrity is the cornerstone of a journalist’s credibility. Members of the Society share a dedication to ethical behaviour and adopt this code to declare the Society’s principles and standards of practice (Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics, 2014).

The code resonates with the journalism profession in countries that practice free speech – including South Africa as protected in the Constitution’s the Bill of Rights. Globally, the codes hold that news must be reported truthfully, reliably, timeously, and without bias - as we

hope to observe in the news in South Africa. According to Retief (2002:35) “a code of ethics is a document that sets out guidelines aimed at prescribing certain types of conduct deemed unethical, and identifying other types of conduct as being ethical, adding “a code falls somewhere between societal and personal values on the one hand and law on the other”. Codes of ethics provide a framework for accurate and fair information, and integrity in the profession. It ensures that journalism is practised in a responsible manner and regulates conduct, for example, reporting does not allow the violation of the right to dignity or self-respect. Retief (2002:36) further explains that “a code helps to create an ethical consciousness, without which ethics easily becomes situation-based (where you can act on an ad hoc basis, and base your moral decisions mainly on feelings or personal preferences)”.

According to the Society of Professional Journalists (sa), in South Africa, the Press Code of 2016, provide guidelines on:

Gathering of news; Reporting of News; Independence and conflicts of interest; Privacy, the Protection of Personal Information, Dignity and Reputation; Discrimination and Hate Speech; Advocacy; Comment; Children; Violence; Headlines, Posters, Pictures and Captions; Confidential and anonymous sources and Payment for Articles.

The press code preamble in South Africa summed up by Thloloe (2012:159) highlights that:

Our work is guided at all times by the public interest, understood to describe information of legitimate interest or importance to citizens. As journalists, we commit ourselves to the highest standards of excellence, to maintain credibility and keep the trust of our readers. This means always striving for truth, avoiding unnecessary harm, reflecting a multiplicity of voices in our coverage of events, showing a special concern for children and other vulnerable groups, and acting independently.

The preamble classifies the philosophical foundations for publications that prescribe to it where a large majority of newspapers and magazines prescribe to the code (Thloloe, 2012). The Bill of Rights in Section 16 of the Constitution ensures that the press upholds the rights of citizens. Media regulation regarding the law in Section 16 of the Bill of Rights which forms part of the Constitution of South Africa, 1996, to protect the rights of citizens, cited in Seery and Seeber (2012:159) sets out that:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes:
 - a) Freedom of the press and other media;
 - b) Freedom to receive and impart information and ideas;
 - c) Freedom of artistic creativity; and
 - d) Academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.
2. The right in subsection (1) does not extend to

- a) Propaganda for war;
- b) Incitement of imminent violence; or
- c) Advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.

However, this is an area of deep contestation, owing to the divergent political and cultural ideologies in South Africa which can be challenged in an ever-changing media environment, therefore a critical evaluation of ethics is highlighted next.

1.3.2 Criticisms of Media Codes of Ethics

Worldwide, criticisms are levelled against codes of ethics which relate to the journalistic profession working within the confines of various societal limitations. The lack of observance of the code within the profession itself highlighted by Muller (2005:69) who argues, “for all that they express unexceptionable ethical principles, these codes are so abstract as to be disconnected from some of the real ethical dilemmas faced every day by journalists”. De Beer and Froneman (1994:12), resonate with this view arguing, “the high ground of ethical principles does not always merge well with the hustle and bustle of real-life mass media action”. The point is that the abstractness of the ethical principles and the morality they promote do not always resonate with journalists. It is often far-removed from the actual everyday work of journalists and the ethical dilemmas they face on diverse stories. Essentially, it appears that ethics does not translate as easily into practice where time constraints, responsibility to editors and shareholders and newsworthiness make ethical practices challenging to uphold. In South Africa, an article by the *Mail & Guardian* on 29 January, 2016 published a story on Democratic former president FW de Klerk giving political leadership lessons to Democratic Alliance (DA) leader Mmusi Maimane. The allegation was proven fallacious. On 19 February, 2016, the editor Verashni Pillay penned an apology to concerned parties and its readers:

Our article on January 29 about former president FW de Klerk giving “political leadership” lessons to Democratic Alliance leader Mmusi Maimane should have been stronger and would have benefited from more time. We are committed to learning from this error and ensuring it does not happen again. We have engaged the services of an expert in newsroom ethics and practices who will be working with us to examine our processes and improving them (Pillay, *Mail & Guardian*, 2016).

Whether an issue of newsworthiness, time-constraints or possible disregard for newsroom ethics, such unsubstantiated reporting could have had far-reaching consequences for the DA’s election campaign by misleading the electorate on the 2016 Local Government elections and tarnishing the image of Mmusi Maimane. It highlights a disregard for the fundamental ethical

principle of truthful reporting. It further shows that unethical reportage does indeed occur in South African newspapers.

Another important criticism is the impact of the markets on the media. From an ethics standpoint, commercial constraints can fundamentally affect the newsroom practice where the organisation's performance is affected by tensions between public interest and the markets. According to Voltmer (2013:164) "due to their dual nature as economic enterprises and political institutions, the contradiction between the selfish motivation of making a profit and the civic motivation of serving the public interest characterizes mass communication from the production of messages down to their consumption by audiences". A key factor in the disparity between commercial media and the need for democratic public communication according to Voltmer (2013) is media concentration. Media concentration is recognised where fewer larger, conglomerates own the means of content production and distribution in print and broadcasting, thereby controlling media markets on both national and global levels. These corporations are able to influence the number of titles of the press and hence public opinion in conformance with the market. The impact thereof is that the press must manage private enterprise more so that public communication.

In South Africa, the concern of media concentration is also prevailing. Duncan (2015:11) states "although there was a brief period between 1994 and 1999 when the mainstream newspaper environment diversified, the market has reverted back to the levels of concentration resembling those that existed under apartheid". This is despite the press being the hub of investigative journalism in South Africa. Duncan (2015:15) further adds "much of the press has also lapsed into 'churnalism', repeating the same stories *ad nauseum*, with little original investigative content" adding "much of this has to do with massive cost-cutting in newsrooms, particularly in the wake of the global recession". Thus, media concentration can impact the quality of political information offered to the public by the press which can undoubtedly be felt at the 'grassroots' level, resulting in a lack of a plurality of views and likely inferior election information which counters journalistic ethics. Nevertheless, although journalists are conceivably losing their autonomy to their managers and shareholders, the media are not completely at the mercy of the market-system. The print media is presently independently 'co-regulated' under the PCSA of 2007. The system provides an effective mechanism for ensuring press accountability where the Press Ombudsman has provided a significant independent Complaints Platform ensuring that the public would be served through mediation and

adjudication in accordance with the Press Code. Below, the study next outlines the three dimensions of ethics, that is, truth, balance and independence, captured in the Press Code. It provides an ethics basis in the CDA evaluation to realise the goals of this study.

1.3.3 Ethical Dimensions for the study: Truth, Balance and Independence

This thesis locates the ethical criteria of truth, balance and independence in the ‘Reporting of news’ subsection in the Press Code of South Africa (2016). If the press is to play a role in informing and educating the voter, it must do so devoid of biased inclinations. This means informing the electorate properly on the elections by presenting both sides of the story independently on political parties that it may not necessarily endorse in the straight hard¹ news reports. This study, taking into account the South African context, defines and understands hard news consistent with Lehman-Wilzig and Seletzky (2010:38) who cite several sources, asserting that “Limor and Mann (1997) note that it usually involves political (domestic and international), economic or social topics. ‘Hard’ news demands immediate reporting due to its importance and short lifespan (continuing stories tend to follow shortly)”, adding “Whetmore (1987) emphasizes the factual nature of ‘hard’ news as compared to the subjective, colorful or offbeat nature of ‘soft’ news”.

The guiding principles for the journalist by Black, Steele and Barney (1995) are used in this study which advocate for the ethical dimensions of truth-telling and independence, while balance is explicated through Stroud and Reese (sa). These principles are heuristically positioned to provide a checklist for the CDA methodology for ethical newspaper reporting. Jones (2004:103) puts forth “truth telling speaks to the responsibility of journalism to cover those people who normally may not have access to the media and to cover those issues that need light shined upon them”. Firstly, according to Black, Steele and Barney (1995:17): *Seek truth and report it as fully as possible* implies:

- Inform yourself continuously so you in turn can inform, engage, and educate the public in clear and compelling ways on significant issues.
- Be honest, fair, and courageous in gathering, reporting, and interpreting accurate information.
- Give voice to the voiceless.
- Hold the powerful accountable.

¹ Hard news in this study refers to the straight, factual newspaper articles on the front page of the newspaper as opposed to editorials, opinion pieces, feature articles or political analysis by journalists.

Truth-telling has two sub themes of accuracy and fairness (Krüger, 2004) that precludes bias so that the concrete truth documents the lives of people, their actual experiences and their historical circumstances. Christians and Nordenstreng (2004) argue that truth telling is an ‘ethical principle’ and an undisputed obligation in news reports regardless of hard or soft news. Christians and Nordenstreng (2004:23) further write that “although often only a rhetorical flourish and reduced in meaning, media codes of ethics typically appeal to truth as the cornerstone of social communication; therefore, they reflect in their own way its intrinsic value.” The aforesaid explanation is utilised to validate the dimension of truth for this ethics study.

Secondly, as contended that independence is synonymous with objectivity, this study revisits objectivity through the equivalent yet less austere independence principle. Deuze (2005:448) points out that “...journalists alike revisit this value through synonymous concepts like ‘fairness’, ‘professional distance’, ‘detachment’ or ‘impartiality’ to define and (re-) legitimize what media practitioners do”. However, the principle of independence is not as simplistic because human objectivity is problematic, carrying with it personal points of view based on attitudes, values and beliefs. For independence, Stroud and Reese (sa) offer that it “can be said to encourage a worthy goal to the extent that journalists seek to be fair, thorough, use verifiable facts, and step back from their own personal and organizational interests”. The *Act Independently* directive according to Black et al., (1995:17) therefore states:

- Guard vigorously the essential stewardship role a free press plays in an open society.
- Seek out and disseminate competing perspectives without being unduly influenced by those who would use their power or position to counter the public interest.
- Remain free of associations and activities that may compromise your integrity or damage your credibility.
- Recognize that good ethical decisions require individual responsibility enriched by collaborative efforts.

Finally, for balance Stroud and Reese (sa) offer that “...the truth may be found by juxtaposing two competing truth claims, which may arise from completely different perspectives, the truth found statistically to lie somewhere in between”. It adds that “as a normative goal, balance is easier to achieve on the surface by putting two voices against each other – and, therefore, the more tempting path to objectivity”. Balance means presenting both sides of the story

correspondingly – even that which is contrary to the position of the journalist. Stroud and Reese (sa) prescribe “recommendations on how the process of collecting and delivering news content on public media could be improved within the context of objectivity and balance”. To create understanding for the audience regarding the news selection process, they ask “Why did the news outlet broadcast one candidate’s speech and not another candidate’s speech?”

To summarise, it is likely that interpreting a media text can be a negotiation between the actual news event and the proclivities of the journalist toward a particular ideology or set of values. It is possible that a specific newspaper or reporter can shift more weight in favour of a particular political party and solidarity with that group, or, distort reality and create negative representations pertaining to other parties and so manipulate truth, balance and independence in the hard news item. At the language level, these positions can be embedded in the structuring of the headlines, the background historical context or thematic structure. Different newspapers can conceivably use language to report and frame the elections differently. Consequently, truth, balance and independence are important ethical criteria for evaluating unethical election coverage and advocated in the Press Code, for this study. Next, the statement of the problem is discussed.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The aim of this study is to determine whether the press reported ethically or unethically on South Africa’s 2014 General Elections. The research focus is on the ethical conduct of the press. The study expands on discussions surrounding press bias and the issues of adequate press reporting on important social problems impartially in South Africa - as critics in both government and academic literature contend - and applies it to the elections which is a vital precondition for upholding democracy. This thesis is underpinned by the belief that the election highlights the fundamental role of the press, that is, informing and educating the electorate and broader public on government and other political parties, their policies and ideologies and polling. The press has been criticised by government for not being transformational and biased as well as academic and journalistic opinion for insufficient investigative reporting.

The ANC-led government has accused the press of lack of transformation, press bias, lack of diversity and white dominance within the press. ANC retaliation has been to propose the Media Appeals Tribunal and state regulation. According to Hyde-Clarke (2011:132) the state “...

recommended that the investigation should consider the desirability that such a tribunal be a statutory institution, established through a transparent process, and be accountable to Parliament”. Government argues that regulating the press should become a constitutional condition. This study contends that the aforesaid accusations against the press can be used by the government to justify its actions of proposed measures to regulate the press legally in national interest, which is dangerous to public interest and democracy. The contention is that an uncritical and deferential press fits neatly into conceptions of a developmental state.

The other area of press criticism stems from academic and journalistic opinion and studies. A critical reading of the literature on the elections in particular - because it is rightly argued that fair elections is a vital process for upholding of democracy - shows that there are varied and divergent opinions on how the press have thus far covered the elections in South Africa. Political parallelism has been pointed out by Hadland (2012) in past elections, for example, the 2004 General Elections as a means for the ANC to retain a dominant position in the country through the press. However, there is a difference of opinion by Davis (2004) on how that same election has been reported by the press. He points to the resources of the ANC for advertising and its ability to generate news and not bias contributed to more coverage. Further research by (MMA) (2014) shows that the 2014 general elections in South Africa has not been adequately covered by all media and that it was elementary at best. Duncan (2014) points out that “...the 2014 general elections did not depart significantly from the general trends set in previous elections, of treating political parties fairly, but with coverage that lacked depth and analysis of the issues that the elections should have actually been about”. Functional information on substantive social issues concerning the electorate have wholly been side-lined in favour of political figures, political parties and campaigning as advanced by Duncan (2015).

These criticisms from both government and academic institutions are significant because, if substantiated, could point to the existence of a possible unethical press. In the current press-state climate, the press must demonstrate a libertarian role and report autonomously on the elections while simultaneously reporting in a socially responsible way that benefits the election process, the public and the government. It must give a fair voice to all political parties contending by highlighting their campaigns. This then ensures that the electorate is provided with comprehensive election coverage and a fair assessment to help them make informed electoral choices. Hence, the newspaper - a viable source of information, entertainment, debate or discussion and analysis – recognises its fundamental role for elections and must report

ethically by providing a truthful, balanced and independent account of events. It then also upholds a libertarian and social responsibility role in society, free of biased inclinations, and in line with the Press Code. Therefore, by examining the ethical or unethical conduct of the press, we can determine the justness or unjustness of the criticism against them by the state.

This thesis thus investigates whether or not the press in the form of the newspaper, reported truthfully, in a balanced manner and independently on South Africa's 2014 General Elections, upholding both its libertarian role, incorporating a watchdog function, as well as social responsibility, in order to determine whether the election coverage was ethical or unethical, by means of a Critical Discourse Analysis of the weekly national newspapers the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian*. The study aims to determine whether or not the press has been biased and deficient in reporting on the elections, thereby validating or refuting claims made by both government and academics alike of a biased press.

1.5 MAIN RESEARCH ISSUE

The main research issue is to determine whether or not the press reported truthfully, in a balanced manner and independently on South Africa's 2014 General Elections, upholding both its libertarian and social responsibility roles, in order to determine whether the election coverage was ethical or unethical, in line with the Press Code in South Africa. For this purpose, we use a Critical Discourse Analysis of the front page news reports of the weekly national newspapers the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian*, which were selected using purposive nonprobability sampling and based on the goals of the study and past election reporting, for the cross sectional time-frame of 13 April to 11 May, 2014. The ethical dimensions of truth, balance and independence and the theoretical framework of the Libertarian and the Social Responsibility theories are equated with ethical conduct in this study because they provide representative and suitable guidelines and regulation for ethical press coverage, which is recognised in South African media institutions. Truth, balance and independence are accepted and adopted in the Press Code of South Africa in accordance with the Press Code of 2016 and the Press Code Preamble (2012). The Libertarian and Social Responsibility normative theories have their bases in normative ethics and within this normative field, practical ethical codes and guidelines for media institutions, are incorporated.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.6.1 Main Research Question

In order to determine whether the election coverage of the 2014 General Election in South Africa by the press was ethical or unethical, how and to what extent have the *City Press*, the *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* reported truthfully, independently and in a balanced manner and upheld both the essential Libertarian and Social Responsibility roles?

1.6.2 Secondary Questions

1. To what extent did the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian* inform and educate the reader in the election report fairly and accurately, in order to uphold truthful news reporting in the front page hard news reports on the elections?
2. To what extent did the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian* publish all competing perspectives impartially in order to maintain editorial independence in the reporting in the front page hard news reports on the elections?
3. To what extent did the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian* provide both competing viewpoints to allow comparability in the reports, to maintain balance in reporting in the front page hard news reports on the elections?
4. To what extent have the press have engaged either a libertarian position, that is, independent watchdog, or a social responsibility position incorporating nation-building and responsible journalism, or combined both roles, in the election reporting in the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian*?

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The primary limitation of the study is that it focuses only on the front page election reports. The aim of this study is to examine the straight hard news items only and not opinion and analysis because the front page reports are fact and not opinion-based. The study analyses the facts and not opinion pieces to determine whether they implicitly expressed ideologies that point to an unethical handling of the election stories.

Secondly, the study only examines three of the twenty-three national newspapers in circulation in South Africa. The sampling method for selecting the newspapers was purposive non-probability sampling. The selection was based on the judgement of the researcher. Therefore,

it is not an exhaustive analysis and the findings cannot be generalised to all national newspapers.

A third limitation is the time frame which can be critiqued as it is a cross-sectional study (11 April to 4 May, 2014) of 12 newspaper articles. The actual polling was held on the 7th May 2014. Reporting closest to the time of elections generally focuses a great deal on election events and the run up thereof. Therefore, it will therefore be able to adequately inform this study which seeks to determine ethical press reportage by analysing the election articles. Irrespective of the duration, the media are still expected to perform satisfactorily in terms of adequate and ethical coverage. It also presents a benchmark to investigate the General Elections of 2019.

A fourth limitation is that the study is confined to English language news reports only. But, of the twenty-three national newspapers in circulation, the majority of newspapers are in the English medium which is widely spoken in South Africa, including urban areas where these particular under study, circulate. While recognising other national newspapers in circulation, for example, *Rapport* or *Isolezwe Ngesonto*, it is beyond the scope of this study and too broad to conduct discourses on all the languages of national newspapers in South Africa.

The last limitation deals with the methodology of CDA. It is a subjective approach and the possibility of questioning whether the articles were chosen to support the argument of this thesis. Skjerdal (2001:31) argues that “the method lacks a tradition of systematic academic practice, it can easily be exploited to carry out the researcher’s political or personal agenda”. This opens CDA up to criticism but the study was election-focused and involved selecting the ‘main headline election article’ on the front page and not any or all election article in the newspaper. It did not extend to opinion or analysis which is subjective. The researcher felt that the hard news front page articles aided in finding the right clues to determine ethical election reporting.

1.8 CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

The topic researches the national newspapers, broadly grounded in the mass media, which in turn falls under the umbrella of Communication. Researching the ethical conduct of the newspaper could contribute to the discussion on press conduct and their role in public interest. The press as a form of mass communication to large segments of the population can make contributions to the reading public through its information dissemination and education function. It highlights important considerations for instance, whether the press can actually

assist the electorate through information and education and thus proper election coverage. The study by fulfilling these functions, it adheres to the principles of the Press Code in South Africa and shows ethical journalistic responsibility during elections. This thesis thus hopes to add value to the role of the press in South Africa by proving through this study that the traditional newspaper is still showing an important means of communication in light of online news. Therefore, with CDA as the methodology, it helps the study consider the social, cultural and historical contexts that undeniably influence perceptions and that the reader's understanding and interpretation of the news should not be assumed. This study can encourage further studies, for example, in determining fitting models for the South African press, which research shows, still take shape in the media thinking. The threat of state intervention undoubtedly warrants a rethinking of libertarian and social responsibility roles independently in SA.

1.9 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The body of this present study is divided into 7 chapters. Chapter 1 above sets out the context of the study. Chapter 2 is a literature review which reviews international and South African ethics studies on the press. It provides literature on the importance of the press for elections and then goes on to explicate the election coverage on the 2014 General elections in South Africa. It presents divergent views on similar studies, recurring patterns on how successive elections were covered and insufficient coverage. The theoretical framework of the Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories are outlined and a proposed model for ethical press reportage in South Africa is further offered.

Chapter 3 presents an overview of the research methodology, dealing with the choice of method. It highlights how this study on newspaper analysis required a structured approach to find out if the press was ethical in the election reporting, hence the choice of CDA as the most suitable method. This method is used to identify ethical or unethical press reporting. The theoretical framework of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian models are used as triangulation for verifying the results of the CDA.

Chapter 4 is the data analysis. This section includes the analyses of the newspaper reports, observations and interpretations as outlined in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5 provides an additional approach to the analysis to reassess the findings of the CDA by applying the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories as a form of triangulation to confirm whether the press reporting was ethical or unethical for the elections.

Chapter 6 is the discussion of the findings and discusses the findings of the CDA, the ethical dimensions of truth, balance and independence and the theoretical framework of the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theory as a form of triangulation to the CDA. It further discusses the findings in the study for the proposed Developmental Journalism model. Lastly, the main and secondary research questions are answered.

Chapter 7 concludes the study and subsequently ties together the information presented in the newspaper analysis and findings, provides recommendations and highlights its contribution to the study of Communication Science.

1.10 Conclusion

Chapter 1 has outlined the study through a synopsis of the background information of the press in South Africa. It takes into account the condemnations of the press by both government and academic opinion. It has provided a comprehensive explanation of media ethics including ethics in the South African context. It proceeded to outline the problem statement, the main research issue and research questions. Lastly, it has highlighted the limitations and contributions that this thesis can make to the field of Communication Science. Chapter 2, which is the literature review follows next.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter presents an overview of literature relevant to this study's concern with the press reporting unethically on South Africa's 2014 General Elections. It is underpinned by the contentious debate surrounding the conflicting roles of journalists in society. It highlights and shows how these roles present an internal conflicts such as journalism taking on the libertarian role, incorporating watchdog journalism over the government, while having to fulfil a social responsibility purpose for the larger South African society. This envisaged position of the press claiming to be the professed voice of the people brings it into conflict with the government who counter-claim to be the true elected representative of the people, therefore expecting the press to serve in its interest. In both these roles journalists' ethical conduct is criticised in society.

The chapter begins with general international ethics case studies followed by local studies that provide evidence of unethical reporting by newspapers. This is trailed by an analysis of academic opinion on the press as well as election case studies that validate the importance of the press for democratic elections. A review of research literature on how the press coverage of the 2009 general election compared to the 2014 election were covered by the media follows. Finally, the concluding section provides the theoretical framework for the study, that is, the normative Social Responsibility and Libertarian theories. It also traces the philosophical meta-ethical theories, deontology and utilitarianism, and relates these to the theoretical models. While various ethical theories propose different roles for the press such as Ubuntuism in Africa - a more cooperative, communal journalism - which opposes the Western notion of independence and freedom, this thesis argues for the Social Responsibility and Libertarian (based on liberal individualism and democracy) press theories. The argument of this study is that these press theories provide a suitable foundation and methodological structure for ethical journalism in the current socio-political climate in South Africa. Finally, the Developmental Journalism model is proposed by combining both press models, arguing that this incorporation is the most fitting for ethical election press coverage for South Africa. This study is thus presented with an opportunity to critically investigate the newspaper and whether they upheld their ethical role in safeguarding democracy through the election platform.

2.2 CASE STUDIES OF ETHICAL MEDIA CONDUCT IN THE ELECTION CONTEXT

A detailed exposition and normative basis of ethics has been provided in Chapter 1. The case studies presented below are ethics studies and help in validating this thesis, showing that ethical lapses can and do subliminally occur. This is even when it is not always easy to assess what is unethical in hard news stories because language can implicitly lend itself to lack of information, misinformation and journalistic and newspaper ideologies.

2.2.1 International Studies on Press ethics

Before addressing South African ethics research, it is useful to gain insight into the ethical issues impacting the press globally; if press ethics is a concern for elections; and how such issues are dealt with by the press. One such study includes Muller's (2005) '*Media Accountability in a Liberal Democracy*' which integrates views on the Social Responsibility and Libertarian paradigm and argues that a media ethics incorporating the Social responsibility paradigm leads to media accountability. The perspectives of both the electorate and journalists on press ethics are provided. Firstly, in an ethics study of two major newspaper companies, a television station and a radio broadcasting station in 2004 in Australia, Muller (2005:77) aimed to discover "the extent to which the attitudes of journalists matched those of ordinary members of the community, the same questions were asked in a survey of voters". As this is a very comprehensive study, for the sake of brevity, the most relevant area is highlighted. For example, in revealing voters' and journalists' perceptions of journalists as truth-tellers, Table 1 below parallels the overall results.

Table 1: Muller's Ethics Study on Journalists and Voters (2005)

Table 3.10: COMPARISON OF JOURNALISTS' AND VOTERS' PERCEPTIONS OF JOURNALISTS AS TRUTH-TELLERS

Perception	Total	
	Journalists	Voters
Base	168	300
	%	%
Generally speaking, journalists write stories that tell the truth as best they know it, without regard for sales or ratings	76	24
Generally speaking, journalists write stories they think will be best for sales and ratings, even if it means exaggerating the truth	16	73
Don't know	8	3

Source: Muller (2007:93)

The results highlighted in the research shows that voters perceive journalists as advancing sales or ratings before truth, more so than journalists perceive this. The findings of this survey highlight the ethical issue of lack of credibility. Muller (2007:93) contends that these results indicate “the profession’s credibility gap on one of its core functions, that of providing reliable information”. Therefore, this thesis argues that reliable information is a core requirement in informing the electorate properly, thus speaking to an ethical ethos. For Muller (2007:93) these findings demonstrated that “a profession whose ethical approaches to its work are so out of step with community norms is not likely to be seen as ethical”. According to Muller (2005:94) “if people think that generally speaking, journalists write what they think will be best for sales or ratings, rather than the truth as best they know it, the public cannot be expected to rely on the information provided”.

Although the survey provides a revealing dichotomy of the public and journalists’ perceptions of ethics, it is also important to establish if and how journalists ‘act’ unethically. Muller (2005:93) argues that “a threshold difficulty surrounding the question of “truth” is that journalists develop a view of the “truth” that is coloured, even distorted, by their becoming habituated to the structures of news stories and the competitive environment in which they work. To elucidate Muller (2007:75) interviewed editors and editorial managers on their views of ethics. Of the many questions, one stands out emphatically as an indication that journalists do indeed ‘act’ unethically in the performance of their duties. For example:

Q: On the whole, do you think the professional ethics of journalism carry sufficient weight among working journalists in Australia? Why do you say that?

No I don’t think so, because we don’t spend enough time talking about these issues. In the rush to get papers out, I don’t think there is the head-space or the time to be able to sit down and say, “What were the problems with this story? Why did we do it this way? Let’s look at our code again and see if there are holes in it.” I see this happen all the time in the rush to do a story, to get a story. For instance, we’re not meant to speak to or photograph children under the age of 15 without permission from a guardian or a parent. It’s amazing how many times we do it, though! It’s in the rush to get the story. “The kids are there. I’m not going to go and look for a parent now.” And sometimes these things have got in the paper, and the next day I have to say, “This really is unethical. It breaks the MEAA ethics, and the paper’s.

The findings of the survey conflated with journalistic interviews in the study which highlight an admission of flouting of ethical codes in Australia. It shows that ethics in journalism is a global concern. The interview specified that press reporting judged as unethical does indeed occur. The significance of the dimension of truth-telling highlighted by Muller in the survey

points to the need for factual information for the voter and that the ethical dimension of truth is not always upheld by journalists.

A further media study of ethics of elections coverage was conducted by Wasserman and Maweu in 2014. It highlighted that “ethnicity at the micro level of individual journalists and at the macro level of the media institution” pointed to biased decision-making at Nation Media Group (NMG) in Kenya (Wasserman and Maweu, 2014). At the time of the study, Kenya’s politics was primarily based on ethnic identities which was Pro Kibaki, that is, in favour of then President Mwai Kibaki. Semi-structured qualitative interviews conducted with twenty journalists highlighted that journalists and the media house displayed ethnic-based political bias at the individual level (journalist), the organizational level (NMG) and the extra-media level (public) toward the political party they support, which influence news production particularly during elections (Wasserman and Maweu, 2014). Wasserman and Maweu (2014:10) further argue “it also emerged from the responses that ‘some journalists in the newsroom act as political think-tanks of major political parties’ and ‘other journalists are on the payroll of politicians, government ministers and political parties to act as their point men in the newsroom’” adding “in such cases, it is very challenging for such journalists to observe the principles of accuracy, fairness, truth, independence and objectivity as is expected’ ”. It demonstrates that ethical deviations have been evidenced in the press in Kenya, taking shape through biased election reportage. Revelations from journalists themselves attest to their failings of the responsibilities assigned to them by the normative demands of social responsibility. According to journalists, principles of “accuracy, truth, impartiality, independence, objectivity and balance” are difficult to observe when government officials are able to sway negative stories in their favour. The lack of these core ethical principles in the Kenyan election coverage have negative implications for the reader, the constituency, the broader public, and the election as a democratic process. Therefore, these aforesaid global studies prove that studying the ethics of elections is reasonable and necessary. The discussion now turns to South African ethics studies on newspapers.

2.2.2 General Ethics Studies on the newspaper in South Africa

According to a study by Jones’s (2004) entitled ‘In the Public Interest: News Values, Ethics and the Need for a New Focus in South African Journalism’ is a South African based study that examined the extent of the ethical coverage of the Kwa-Zulu Natal violence during Apartheid and the AIDS pandemic.

Although the context differs, with Jones focusing on reporting on violence by newspapers and this thesis focusing on the elections, it is relevant in that Jones's study successfully argued that the press in South Africa has reported unethically. It is also congruent with the perspective of this thesis through the use of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian models to articulate her ethical argument. Moreover, it similarly uses CDA to highlight bias embedded in the text. Jones (2004) examined three newspapers in KZN from 1987 to 2004, namely, *Natal Witness*, *Daily News*, and the *Mercury* using CDA. The categories analysed included "headlines; racism and the creation of "we" and "them"; sources used for the violence stories and angles and styles" (Jones, 2004) in the study of ethics in the press. Jones (2004:74) highlighted that that disparaging appellations such as "bloody clashes", "mobs", "hacked", "horror", "cold blood", "savagery", "rampaging", "grotesque", "terrorists", "savage youths" were utilised in depicting the violence in the black townships. Jacobs (2001) cited in Jones (2004:75) outlined that "logically, the "we" would usually signify the law-abiding citizens irrespective of who they are, but apart from the fact that the violence is clearly taking place in black townships, many of the stories display subtle racist overtones, and thus "we" is taken to mean "white" and "them" is taken to mean "black".

The study by Jones (2004) argues that racism detected in the newspapers' reports on the violence in Natal was understated as a result of the newsgathering and construction process, and that understanding for the reader was shaped by the way it was represented in the newspaper. The racism in the discourse was not overt but implicitly rooted in the article and as she argues, "disinterested". According to Jones (2004:100) "the newspaper coverage of the violence generally ignores the complexity and multi-dimensional issues involved, and sees it more as a case of barbaric blacks with opposing political ideologies, killing one another in circumstances of lawlessness and savagery". Jones (2004:181) therefore argues that "...there was a complete ethical breakdown in reporting during the years of apartheid, that shadowed formalists into the transitional period after the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of all Emergency Regulations in 1990". Sifting through subtleties in the language through discourse analysis, Jones was able to argue that, although indirectly articulated, the racism within the context of the violence was tangible. Jones (2004) highlights how the press have been functioning over time with an assessment that the press have been doing so unethically in the papers analysed. However, while her research was primarily an ideological analysis using racism as her context and whose research was based on three regional newspapers in KZN, this thesis focuses on three national newspapers. It is still not impossible for such reporting patterns

to recur in the 2014 election, where subliminal ideological messages can question the ethical conduct of the press during coverage.

An ethics study that parallels Jones (2004) in discourse analysis by De Wet's (2001), established how the print media report on racism in education. De Wet (2001) conducted a discourse analysis on hard news articles in South African newspapers between April 1994 and May 2001. De Wet (2001) highlights that the denial of racism by the press is implicit in their discourse, achieved by the use of euphemisms when writing about racial tensions in schools. For example, De Wet (2001:106) highlights the press statement: "not all white South Africans reportedly are racists, but only those belonging to the ultra-right-wing political parties" (Southern African Report, 1996; Thompson, 1998). The study publicised that the majority of journalists patently opposed those who disagreed with their views. De Wet (2001:110) therefore argued that "most of them openly defended their points of view, and severely attacked and marginalised those they opposed". "From the study it has become clear that there are two conflicting perspectives in the media discourse on racism in South African schools. Who is discriminated against, who is racially abused, whose human rights are violated, will depend on who belongs to 'our' people (either black or white)" (De Wet, 2001:110). It is important to note that although the study of Jones (2004) conducted in newspapers in 1994 and De Wet (2001) in 2001, the differences in the time line nevertheless highlight a recurrence of dubious ethical press writing could again take shape in the 2014 election reports.

To broadly summarise, this thesis engaged the studies of Jones (2004) and De Wet (2001) to explore and highlight that a disputed ethical handling of social events in South African newspapers have been pointed out by academic research. Notwithstanding the different contexts and time-frames, the authors' utilisation of discourse analysis was able to reveal how the respective newspapers used language to slant the discourse in advancing the newspaper's social, cultural or political underpinnings, thereby affecting the veracity of the information for the reader. The subsequent section of the literature review centres on the importance of the press during the elections to help in investigating ethical press conduct during the elections.

2.3 IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESS FOR ELECTIONS

Having provided verifications that question the ethical reportage of the press in the South African press, the following section characterises the imputed importance of the press for elections and debates why ethical reporting is so vital to upholding democracy. The elections provide an intensely interesting and stimulating period for the newspapers. Firstly, it presents

a high point for the press to exercise its public interest function through an independent yet informative election coverage, thereby contributing its part to free and fair elections. Secondly, it allows the newspapers to qualitatively assess their work, thereby improving or maintain their ethical responsibility to society. This is therefore a good indicator of the health of democracy.

Swanson and Mancini (1996:1) state:

Election campaigns are critical periods in the lives of democracies. They select decision makers, shape policy, distribute power, and provide venues for debate and socially approved expressions of conflict about factional grievances and issues, national problems and directions and international agendas and activities.

According to research by Radu and Bird (2014:2), it was explained that “in order to contribute to free and fair elections, media coverage must be balanced, equitable, fair and accurate”. In this space, the press is a vital link between government and citizens wherein one of the most fundamental obligations of the newspaper - apart from making a profit for its owners and shareholders - is arming the public with important and relevant information during the election to help them make educated choices. Journalists must keep voters equally informed on such election issues of party candidates, programmes, manifestos, the electoral process for provincial or national elections, voter registration, how to cast ballots, and importantly, the basic social issues affecting the electorate. The press must likewise be mindful that, in South Africa, modern voters learn about elections, political parties, political campaigns and policies not just from political rallies or word of mouth, but also from the media including television, radio, newspapers and social media. Granted, the press has a fairly modest penetration compared to the radio broadcast medium which is in part because there are those who cannot read or afford to buy the newspaper. Moreover, there has been a rise in online news platforms where the traditional press has had to modify its platform to incorporate digital publishing which is rapidly transforming the newspaper in terms of content sharing through its 24 hour internet news sites.

Still, print has the capacity to reach a fairly large segment of the urban reading population. The newspaper should not be written off as a viable news source of in-depth reporting. This is a time where the concept of ‘fake news’ has entrenched itself in the media. Fake news, according to Wasserman (2017) are “news reports that mimic the style and approach of legitimate news reports, but are fabricated and blatantly untrue”. For example, in South Africa, according to Wasserman (2017) “...it was claimed in court papers that the ANC ran a covert ‘War Room’ ahead of last year’s municipal elections” adding “this allegedly included printing fake election posters to discredit the EFF (which is a breach of electoral laws) and creating a network of

social media ‘influencers’ to push certain topics on Twitter and Facebook, and a news site ‘The New South African’ to promote an ANC narrative”. Hence social media has arguably become a site of fabricated news stories, malicious comment, gossip and unauthentic images through photoshop (Wasserman, 2017). In essence, a recognition of the conventional press as a more authentic news site should not be ignored. As Wasserman (2017) argues, “the rise of fake news may have a positive outcome for mainstream news outlets to whom audiences may start returning after they have deserted them for more individually-tailored online sites”.

For a credible overall media during elections, Voltmer (2009:3) offers that “without reliable information, it would be impossible for citizens to use their power effectively at election time, nor would they be aware of the problems and issues that need active consideration beyond voting”. Professor Tawana Kupe adds to this argument in his presentation ‘The Role of the Media in Elections: a Critical Reflection’ (sa) which speaks of the role of all media for elections. This researcher asserts that it is vital to highlight these principles as it is in such values that the press can uphold ethical reporting. Kupe (sa) informs that the three principal democratic roles of the media pertaining to elections include information, analysis and debate, adding that the watchdog role is critical because of the high probability of electoral fraud. By observing these roles Kupe (sa) writes that “they act as institutional aid and guide citizens in making electoral choices” adding “if these roles are played well citizens stand a greater chance of making choices based on knowledge rather than blind loyalties”. Kupe (sa) argues that in its informational role, the media must inform citizens through truthful and accurate news stories. The Handbook for Journalists during Elections (2015) shadows Kupe’s (sa) argument by asserting that “a journalist may raise questions, present different points of view and add basic information and context, but always ensure balance and neutrality” adding “the underlying principle is that all parties and candidates are to be treated in a fair, impartial and neutral fashion”. These principles are also neatly encapsulated in media codes and the Bill of rights of South Africa in Chapter 1. This study contends that it should always be applied by the press for elections and indeed all issues - realised through unbiased coverage that strives for the truth, independence and reflecting the multiplicity of voices, taking into account the most vulnerable such as women, children and animals. These are the key principles that this researcher argues that help uphold the ethical conduct of the press.

Reinforcing the ethical standpoint, Berger’s (2003) seminar entitled ‘Whose poll is it – the politicians’, or the peoples? ‘Ethical implications for the media’, noted significant ethical

concerns raised for the elections. Paraphrasing Berger (2003), the ethics issue of concern for the election include that of what forum is actually provided to different parties if the coverage is driven by politicians and the media are passive. The media is an active agent and impartiality does not mean an unquestioning stance by editorial staff. The ethical principle to be upheld is that it must be a “watchdog on process”, providing a balanced platform where the media is an educator and guide (Berger, 2003). Another ethical issue of Berger (2003) is that slanting does undeniably occur. Berger (2003) argues “we deny slanting but it is true that:

- “Political pressure exists,
- Private newspapers (at least) have leanings.
- And we do select, discard, set agendas”.

Berger (2003) sets out the principles for ethical conduct by the media for the elections where they must be cognisant of “media-politician-public dynamics” as well as law, regulation and codes. Berger (2003) demonstrates two stand out points which can be sought for in the reporting of the South Africa in 2014. According to Berger’s (2003) ‘Ethics: Specific Principles for polls’, these include:

- “Be pro-people.
- Be pro-marginalised, esp. women”.

Reverberating this argument, Muleya (2013), in the article entitled ‘Elections reporting and media ethics’, educates on the key role of media practitioners during elections. According to Muleya “media practitioners also have a crucial role in telling politicians what ordinary people want, or do not want, and in ensuring that the polls are free and fair”. The aforesaid discussion undoubtedly highlights that the press play a significant role for an election. At this point, the study turns to analyses of election campaigns in South Africa, locating some of the ethical issues raised by Berger (2003) and Muleya (2013) in the reportage of the 2014 elections.

2.4 THE ELECTION COVERAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

It has been contended that the elections have been a means for the ANC to retain a dominant position in the country through the press. However two case studies present opposing views on the 2004 General elections in SA – the results of which make it challenging to form a precise estimation of unethical press conduct. In South Africa’s elections, the concept of one-party dominance has surfaced in the discourse. For example, Hadland (2012) speaks of political parallelism in a survey of sixteen newspapers, suggesting media bias. Press-party parallelism, according to Voltmer (2008:27) describes “the close relationship between political parties and

the press that developed in Western Europe during the 19th century and still continues to shape the content of political reporting in many countries”. Seymour-Ure (1974: 159) adds “the same social forces that find expression in a party or parties of a political system tend to find expression also through the press.” Drawing from his work on political parallelism, Hadland (2012:104) argues “a survey of sixteen newspapers and five television channels conducted in the four-month lead-up to the 2004 national election found an overwhelming dominance of ruling party coverage (Schreiner, 2004)”. It adds “it does seem apparent that the exhaustive coverage of the ANC at election time within the South African media reflects the dominance of the party within the polity more generally”. If one-party dominance in the press is a precise assessment, it suggests that voters do not have access to truthful and balanced information, as prescribed by the press code, and that the marginalisation of the less-dominant opposition questions how ethical the press is in its reporting.

However, a study of the same elections by Davis (2004) argues that the dominance of both the ANC and the DA had more to do with the ability of the various parties to generate news and advertising rather than partisan reporting. Davis argues that the dominance of the media by the ANC and the DA had less to do with media bias and more to do with parties’ abilities to generate news and coverage, and that it was very well resourced. According to Davis (2004:12) “these two parties are the most active on the campaign trail and have high profile leaders that attract the media to cover their election events”. Furthermore, in more recent literature on the 2014 elections press coverage, according to Schultz-Herzberg (2014:6) ““opposition parties’ share of media space was larger than their share of the vote, while the ANC’s share of the media space was smaller than its share of the vote, suggesting that the media coverage did not mirror voters’ opinions entirely, but slightly advantaged the opposition at the expense of the ruling party”. The estimation of Hadland (2012) arguably points to a biased media and a predisposition towards a specific political party. This researcher thus finds it challenging to settle on the argument of political parallelism made by Hadland (2012) to assert that the printed press, that is the newspaper, is biased.

Notwithstanding two differing assessments of the 2004 elections, the divergence and varied views of scholars informs and guides this thesis on past and present press analysis and how the press has been located both previously and at present during elections. The academic assessments presented help pave the way to an assessment on ethical 2014 election reporting.

2.4.1 South Africa's 2014 General Elections

This section provides an explanation on how the 2014 general election was covered by the general media. It is then narrowed in scope to the newspapers. Encompassed within this section is an application of the fundamental ethical principles discussed above by Berger (2003) and Muleya (2013).

Twenty-seven political parties contested South Africa's fifth General Elections in 2014. Of MMA's research into the coverage of the elections for the 50 media outlets, including print, online and broadcast media for the period of 7 March, 2014 and 30 April, 2014, overall, the media performed well in terms of fairness in election reporting where 85% of the coverage was deemed fair. Schultz-Herzberg (2014:6) states "coverage of the top five parties constituted 85% of total party coverage, while the other 24 parties contesting the national election received the remaining 15% of coverage". Although the overall coverage of the elections was free and fair, comparable assessment with the 2009 elections highlighted repeated reporting trends. Election research by Duncan (2015:3) stressed that "while there were signs of improvements in some areas, the trends remained largely the same". The research into the newspapers for the 2014 General Elections indicated that there had been a shift in newspapers' political stands. Of the papers monitored by MMA between the 7 March and 8 May, 2014, according to Duncan (2014:11) the *Mail & Guardian* for example "...encouraged voters to oppose the ANC, to dilute the party's dominance. The *Sunday Times*, *City Press*, *Business Day* and all the Independent titles declined to endorse any party, solidifying a trend established in 2009 for more papers to move away from party endorsements".

However, coverage of the collective media failed to unpack and explicate the differences of these parties, which would have undoubtedly assisted the voter to learn more about what each party stood for. According to Duncan (2015:20) "whatever ideological diversity existed, though, could not find adequate expression through the media coverage, as much of it was not focused on ideological questions, but on logistical ones". Her estimation is that this did not allow for a sincere and candid contest of ideas and a media that is truly deficient. She argues that if such superficial criteria such as personality of the political candidate was relevant for voter, the media performed well. Duncan (2015:20) argues that "for those who wished to make decisions based on more substantial grounds, the media would, on the whole, not have provided sufficient information". Coverage primarily focused on political parties and their campaigns and to a much lesser extent on citizens and their social problems as well as an

understanding of policy issues. On the matter of actual content, according to Schultz-Herzberg (2014:6):

MMA found that of all media monitored at the eve of the election, 29% of coverage was dedicated to ‘party campaigning’, 23% to ‘party politics’, 9% to ‘corruption’ (but with a focus on the alleged misuse of public funds on President Jacob Zuma’s private Nkandla homestead) and 9% to ‘election logistics’. Only 3% of all coverage focused on party manifestos and, hence, policy.

It is evident that what the press promoted did not resonate with voters. There was a lack of in-depth coverage of important basic issues affecting citizens. Radu and Bird (2014:12) resonate with this argument by pointing out that “we know this because key issues such as voter education, crime, development, service delivery, land, labour, racism, affirmative action, disabilities, education, environment, gender, health, housing, human rights and poverty each received less than 1% of the media coverage”. MMA (2014:4) reverberate these finding: “again, it would appear that with some notable exceptions media have allowed their agendas to be determined by those of the politicians and parties, and not citizens”. Also, a lack of coverage of issues of gender and women, children, policies, racism and xenophobic violence and environmental concerns, was observed (Duncan, 2015).

The ethical argument of this study asks of the press: What information was given to the public? Was the medium truthful, balanced and independent? Was the press an educator and guide? Thus, it borrows from the works of Berger (2003) and Muleya (2013) who have dexterously conflated the ethics issue with elections. The reportage of the 2014 elections shows that all forms of media did not ‘tell’ politicians what the citizens wanted as Muleya (2013) argues. This dovetails precisely with Berger’s ethical underpinnings because reporting was not ‘pro-marginalised’ or ‘pro-people’ and in essence was not a voice for the citizens. South Africa’s elections reportage disputably contrasts with principles of fairness, balance and public interest to the extent that these were discarded when party campaigning took precedence over policy and basic social issues and when coverage was not pro-people.

That voters were fundamentally overlooked, marginalised and left unable to draw conclusions about parties and their candidates and campaigns by the media, has been established by the foregoing research of Duncan (2015), MMA (2014) and Schultz-Herzberg (2014). Furthermore, that there was a careless disregard of the basic issues of disadvantaged South Africans in the reportage was ostensible. The coverage contrasts with the critical principles espoused by Handbook For Journalists During Elections (2015) who contend that journalists

must “report on issues that citizens themselves have raised, and which they face every day – e.g. selective electricity blackouts, access to drinking water, deteriorated road systems, fuel price increases, shortage of schoolteachers and the absence of hospitals in a region” to convey their needs”. These are the very grassroots issues affecting the daily lived experiences of millions of voting South Africans. This study argues that the Fourth Estate did not pay particular attention to the concerns of the people and be their voice – as election research has revealed. Berger precisely articulates “free media is a stakeholder in elections, not a disinterested observer”. Returning to the questions posed earlier and the ethical concerns within, it is clear that the public was not provided complete information. Although the medium was truthful and deemed fair, the information was unbalanced and limited. The reporting was arguably inconspicuous and negligible. Yes, it is not unethical to focus more on some areas of the elections than others - as was the case here - but this thesis argues that a disengagement from comprehensive and balanced reporting impacts on truthfulness. As Jones (2004:103) rightly argues “an important element of the principle of truth telling is to give voice to the voiceless”.

Important gaps identified are that the MMA analysis focused on the overall media and not primarily on the press. Thus, this researcher aims to undertake a detailed assessment of the newspaper specifically. Further, an ethical analysis was not the focus of MMA, nor was research conducted using CDA of the articles, but rather focused primarily on overall media reportage. With the varying thoughts by academic scholars on how elections are reported, this thesis is given the space to contemplate whether CDA could either add to the foregoing conclusions or identify discrepancies and contradict and challenge the findings. The MMA research and Schultz-Herzberg (2014) offers a point of departure for the current thesis for directing it toward a deeper and more critical observation of the newspaper. This thesis is concerned with reporting truthfully, independently and in a balanced manner for the front page hard news article which should be factual with no channel for biased tendencies. Hence, from an ethical standpoint, an in-depth analysis utilising CDA can highlight whether or not the papers under study covered the main issues, included marginalised voices, reported in the public interest and excluded biased reportage. Ethical journalism dictates that all facts are considered and the veracity, principles and consciousness of the newspaper journalist to keep his or her moral decisions in check, is necessary.

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND LIBERTARIAN THEORY

The theoretical framework of this study is presented in three sections. The first is a synopsis of the foundation of normative ethics. It is followed by a detailed explication of the philosophical meta-ethical theories from which the Social responsibility and Libertarian models are derived, incorporating the deontology and utilitarianism ethics theories. The third section provides a comprehensive explanation of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian theories integrating the meta-ethics of both theories. The relevance of both models to this study is developed and subsequently placed in the South African context wherein the argument is distilled to a discussion on developmental journalism. Finally the application of both models to the study is combined to propose the Developmental Journalism model for the press in South Africa.

Ethics is integrated in the normative framework of the Four Theories of the Press, incorporating the Social Responsibility and Libertarian models. These theories have been judiciously selected, grounded on their significance to the South African context. As explicated in Chapter1, the combative relationship between the state and the press impacts not only the freedom of the press but equally the citizens and their access to information. Instances of government corruption discussed further in this section and debate on developmental journalism by government are the provocative arguments that necessitate the balancing roles of the press. Their ethical responsibility in this milieu is therefore to be a watchdog of government while consecutively fulfilling a social responsibility role to all of society. It is the estimation of this researcher that the press is straddling between both models in a deeply contentious political climate and the selection of both models that advocate for responsibility to society while retaining autonomy. This study thus argues that the philosophies and values germane to both models are appropriate, specifically for the elections, because they can be pragmatically applied to the issues of press ethics. Hence, within this theoretical framework the study will argue that it is possible to neatly fit the key components of ethics, the newspaper and elections into normative interpretation.

Normative theory is the philosophical foundation for the relationship between the media and society and primarily focuses on what the media “ought to do” in society, which progressed normative ethics. It was proposed by Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm in their book *Four Theories of the Press* in the 1950’s. Herein they identified the Authoritarian,

Soviet Communist, and Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories in the early 1950's which explain how different societies expect the media to behave. With regards to ethics in normative theory, Oosthuizen (2002:13) explains:

Normative ethics is concerned with what peoples and institutions in a society ought to do. Societal expectations about individual or institutional conduct (of media workers and media institutions) are based on the fundamental values that are prevalent in a society. These values are articulated by a political system that directly (through legislation) or indirectly (e.g. through remarks about media conduct impact on the expected role of the media or individual media practitioners in a particular society.

According to Merrill, Lee and Friedlander (1991) cited in De Beer and Froneman (1998:6) "media ethics is very much a normative field – helping journalist (and other media people) develop principles and maxims to follow in principles of ethical practice". "Normative interpretations of journalism includes codes of ethics and editorial guidelines" (Ward, 2015:65). Hence, for the practice of journalism, ethics is pragmatically expressed through codes and guidelines such as the press code, which follow a set of social norms and rules which translate to ethical conduct. The discussion next progresses to a discussion of philosophical ethics theories where the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories derive their foundation.

2.5.1 Philosophical Normative Ethics Theories: Deontology and Utilitarianism

A substantial body of philosophical thinking on media ethics exists and the insights of key thinkers have culminated into ethics theories on the media. According to Oosthuizen (2002:12) "philosophical ethics may be divided into meta-ethics, devoted to the evaluation of ethical theories, and normative ethics, concerned with what people ought to do in different situations or how they ought to conduct their lives". For this study, the two ethics theories that stand out include deontology and utilitarianism. Deontological ethics underscores German Enlightenment theorist Immanuel Kant's categorical perspective which professed moral laws as we do laws of nature. Retief (2002:9) explains that "according to Kant, all people have a duty to behave morally appropriately, even if it is considered contrary to their character or desires", adding "Kant asks: what are your duties? What responsibilities do you carry?" For Kant, the test for ethical behaviour is that it should be universally applicable. Utilitarianism on the other hand, advocates moral rules, that is, obligatory morality. Utilitarianism which is a teleological philosophy was established by the writings of John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham in the nineteenth century and is based on the idea of considering the "greatest good" as a primary calculation in decision making.

Morality and ethics are interconnected by their very nature, for it is not possible to be ethical if one is not moral. Plaisance (2009:3) argues that “morality generally refers to a set of beliefs that we embrace to help us understand what is good and what is bad in the world”, adding “ethics, on the other hand, deals with our struggle to justify doing or not doing something when various values of our belief system clash”. It helps us to make judgements about good and bad, right and wrong and so links with ethics. Essentially, morality has to do with our system of beliefs that help us make sound judgements while ethics is a ‘process of rational reasoning’ in a dilemma. The principles of the social responsibility and libertarian press models are placed within these theories precisely because they dovetail with duty and the greatest good. This can lead to a morally right and hence rational ethical reasoning and decision-making for public interest in society. At this point, deontology and utilitarianism and their relation to ethics is explained in detail below.

2.5.1.1 Deontology

In deontology, our moral decisions should be made in harmony with what is beneficial to all of society. The test of the morality of an act is in its universality, that is, if it can be applied to everyone. Patterson and Wilkins (2002:8) draw attention to Kant who states “....that you should act so that you treat humanity always as an end and never as a means.” For Kant, ethical decisions were based on the morally right action conforming to rules or duties like not violating the rights of others. The idea of ethics within this is the emphasis on duty and not consequence. Regarding the sort of duties espoused by Kant, Patterson and Wilkins (2002:8) argue that these can be placed in hierarchy where “the strict duties were generally negative: not to murder, not to break promises, not to lie. The meritorious duties were more positive” to aid others, to develop one’s talents, to show gratitude”.

Kant’s principles, applied to journalism ethics, advances respect for the public as humans with worth. Practically to the media, Oosthuizen (2002:23) propounds “applying universality also means that journalists are, for example, never allowed to invade people’s privacy (including the privacy of a public figure) and that journalists are not entitled to rights that cannot be awarded to others (applied universally) in whatever the circumstances may be”. However Kasoma (1994:36) argues that “a journalist whose ethical actions are based solely on whether he or she is obeying the law lacks self-respect because he or she is not really responsible for his or her actions since they are largely based on fear of legal sanctions”. Law and ethics

parallel each other as both deal with the issue of conduct. For law, Ward (2015:23) illustrates that “structurally, the norm governance of law is more concrete, formal and harshly punitive since it is an expression of the state’s coercive powers over citizens”. Laws are created by governments to provide equilibrium in society and regulate behaviour. Violations are punishable by fines or prison sentences for extreme violations. On the other hand, ethics do not consist of rigid laws that punish violations. Codes address ethical issues distinctly from the law. For example the code prescribes that the press exists in service to society. Thloloe (2012:110) echoes this point by arguing that “there is no law that places an obligation on the press to serve society; such a law would limit the freedom of expression guaranteed in the constitution”. Journalists as members of society have the right to express themselves regardless. However, by subscribing to the Press Code, they agree to accept the responsibility of serving society (Thloloe, 2012). Ethics show journalists how to behave and how to distinguish right from wrong. It comes from a space of moral sense. Ward (2015:22) mentions “for example, it may be legally “safe” to publish inaccurate, sensational portrait of a politician. Libel action is not a significant threat. But we can go “beyond law” and ask if the publication will be an ethical act”. Journalists, in performing their duties, must make morally justifiable decisions such as negative duties of not lying to the public or invading privacy.

In applying deontology to press ethics, firstly, duty is guaranteed through regulation which is prescribed through codes of ethics. The press code will prescribe a duty to ensure that the press reports accurately. However, the press’s watchdog duty may be deemed unethical from this perspective because it may impinge the right to privacy. Secondly, there are views surrounding Ubuntu journalism (Section 2.5.5.1) in Africa which arguable conform to communal dictates and alignment with developmental journalism. The conflict arises when ‘duty to the state’ discounts the libertarian role and does not serve public interest. However, if moral sense is correct, ethical decisions can be guided by reasoned judgement. Deontology ensures that journalists are not afforded more rights over others. They must be responsible in their work and must not misuse power or defame people while advocating autonomous journalism. Hence, election reporting means that journalists are provided the space within the deontological framework to report in a socially responsible manner and still retain their autonomous libertarian role in society.

2.5.1.2 Utilitarianism

In utilitarianism, Albarran (2010:57) contends that “democratic societies often identify with Mill’s idea, in that the concept of a majority rule emphasises the notion of the greatest good for the greatest number of people”. While, writings by Retief (2002:8) state “...that we can assess the goodness or badness of actions and policies by reference to what produces the greatest possible balance of good consequences or the least possible balance of bad consequences”. The central principle of utilitarianism is based on the ‘consequences’ of ethical decisions and not duty. When applying this argument to the press, Patterson and Wilkins (2002:9) reason that “this approach, for example, is the ethical justification for investigative reporting, the results of which may harm individuals even as they are printed or broadcast in the hope of providing a greater societal good”. Oosthuizen (2002:26) adds: “for example, if we investigate the misappropriation of money by a government official, this might cause some negative consequences for the official and his family (he may be fired and his family left without an income”. Although this may infringe on the individual’s rights, corruption in government is eradicated, leading to the overall benefit of society. According to Retief (2002:8) “the conviction that something is good if the majority benefits it implies that the public interest (and the public’s right to know) is held to be of the utmost importance”. This also holds appositely for social responsibility and libertarian theory. Utilitarianism says that we should choose those actions or rules that produce the most possible happiness for those affected which allow for the marginalised - a substantial proportion of the population in South Africa - a platform to raise their concerns at election time. From a purely libertarian point of view regarding majority benefit, Mill contends, according to New World Encyclopaedia (sa) that “free discourse is a necessary condition for intellectual and social progress”, adding that “by forcing other individuals to re-examine and re-affirm their beliefs in the process of debate, these beliefs are kept from declining into mere dogma.”

2.5.2 The Social Responsibility and Libertarian Theories

A brief synopsis of the Four Theories of the Press establishes that the oldest Authoritarian theory prevails in authoritarian societies, which postulates that the press foremost, play a subordinate role to vested power and authority and the promotion of political standards. Soviet Communist theory asserts the media system be strictly controlled in the interests of society, who have the right to censor anti-social publication. The second later pair of theories were the Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories. They are entrenched in the normative tradition of what the press ‘ought to do’ in society. This thesis positions press ethics within the

framework of these two theories for the elections. While Libertarian theory advocates for an independent press, the social responsibility theory, in its nation-building role advocates responsibility to society.

The Libertarian theory is traced to the philosopher John Milton in the 17th century where the state is regarded as the location in which the individual realises his abilities and the individual takes precedence over society. Siebert et al., (1956:40) argue for the “insistence on the importance of the individual, the reliance on his powers of reasoning, and the concept of natural rights, of which freedom of religion, speech and press become a part”. In the Libertarian theory McQuail (1987:115) provides that:

The media should be free from any external censorship; publication and distribution should be accessible to any individual or group without a permit or licence; editorial attacks on governments and political parties should not be punishable; there should be no coercion to publish anything; no restrictions should be placed on the acquisition of information through legal channels; there should be no restriction on the export and import of information across national borders.

If applied practically, it means that the media should be free from government control in a free marketplace of ideas. This is based on the assumption that people are rational beings, capable of determining right from wrong or, good or bad for themselves. The media provides the platform for information, monitoring and opinion-formation regarding government and policy. However, it is argued by Muller (2007:29) that “the most serious limitation of Libertarian theory was its incapacity to provide a response to the issues of monopoly, development of thick markets in which economic activity is concentrated where that activity is already greatest, the sharp increase in threshold costs for media enterprises, the effects of competition for sales, and the broadening of functions demanded of the media by the diversity of markets which make up a modern economy”. Still, Voltmer (2013:170) offers “there have been instances where liberalization of the media markets has led to more pluralism and brought new life to the public sphere. For instance FM Radio stations thrived when the airwaves were opened to commercial broadcasters” (Voltmer, 2013:170). Consequently, this study contends that, with globalisation, advancements in technology, notions of democracy and world events which are sometimes marked by violence and scandal, the way has been paved for the inclusion of the Social Responsibility paradigm.

The origin of the Social Responsibility paradigm is traced to the Hutchinson Commission in 1947 in the United States. The Commission on Freedom of the Press of 1947 published the report ‘A Free and Responsible Press’ through Robert Maynard Hutchins. According to

Christians and Nordenstreng (2004:3) “Hutchins assembled 13 of America’s notables for 17 meetings to hear 225 interviews and 58 testimonies and to study 176 documents. What we call the social responsibility (SR) theory of the press emerged from this potent mixture”. Its principles, according to Retief (2001:15) “could be accomplished, the commission said, if the press were more responsible, journalists would be better trained, and the press regularly regulated itself”. The function of the press under the social responsibility theory are principally the same as those under the Libertarian theory: six functions came to be ascribed to the press as traditional theory evolve, which according to Siebert et al., (1963:74) are:

(1) Servicing the political system by providing information, discussion, and debate on public affairs; (2) enlightening the public so as to make it capable of self-government; (3) safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government; (4) servicing the economic system, primarily by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services; (5) providing entertainment; (6) maintaining its own self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressures of special interests.

With the theory behind these models explained, the discussion turns to the application of the deontological and utilitarian ethics theories where the models derive their foundation, next.

2.5.3 Applying the (meta) ethics of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian Theories

It is possible that a conflation of both the deontological and utilitarian thoughts can underpin the press being ethical socially responsible yet libertarian watchdogs for society. This thesis argues that the media as an institution is able to maximise social happiness because they are well-appointed, knowledgeable and skilled purveyors of information. They have the platform to provide society with what it needs to gain knowledge and general contentment by informing, educating and entertaining, hence advancing the greatest good. The media equally assist in the open exchange of ideas, perform the moral work needed to help us examine our feelings and beliefs to improve our moral duty to one another and thus advance the principles of deontology for libertarianism. The press, by referencing these principles, could determine the morality and thus ethics of an action. For utilitarianism, if exposing state corruption produces the greatest good in the public interest, then it is morally acceptable to do so. Freedom of expression and independence for deontology are bound by duty through press regulation in making moral decisions that do not harm people, thus ensuring responsibility in reporting. Ultimately, the media has a moral obligation to publish the truth not only because of regulation through duty (deontology) but also because it has a responsibility that benefits the public consistent with the greater good (utilitarianism). There is no single theory most fitting for defining the morality of an issue. Perhaps duty in combination with the greatest good is more

appropriate then, given the importance of context in the press performing its duties. Ultimately, being socially responsible and also an independent watchdog is possible through an understanding and application of deontology and utilitarianism – necessary especially in the SA political media landscape. Thus, the thesis argues that the press is able to navigate between the spectrums of duty and consequence by being independent (libertarian) while remaining socially responsible (social responsibility) to judge where truth, balance and independence lie on a given issue and therefore act ethically. The discussion now progresses to delineating the relevance of both social responsibility and the libertarian models to this thesis.

2.5.4 Relevance of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian models to this study

There are several essential points that can be drawn from both models for realising the goals of this study. To begin, consistent with both theories, the role of journalism in the news media is not only to report on civil society's activities but also criticise or support them. From a libertarian role, encompassing a watchdog function, it informs, educates and criticises, independent of government. However, in its social responsibility role as a nation builder, it considers the needs of all society, even if that necessitates support for the state. From an ethical position both models not only have a philosophical basis, but also offer a practical platform for ethical newspaper practice in elections through the application of press codes which allow the press to judge the rightness or wrongness of an act. Informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance are ethical dimensions, as highlighted by McQuail (1994), is enforceable in press regulation through the press code. For the Social Responsibility paradigm, McQuail (1994:152) summarises key obligations in the principles of the Social responsibility theory for the news media that set in motion ethical behaviour as follows:

- Media should accept and fulfil certain obligations to society.
- These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance.
- In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.

In Libertarianism, Grossberg, Wartella, Whitney and Wise (2006:396) articulate that “humans are rational creatures, capable of setting aside base emotions and choosing between right and wrong, between what is false and what is true”. “There is such a thing as truth that is discoverable by people through a process of reasoning, rather than being handed down by God” Grossberg et al., (2006:397). Being created equal and granted equal rights including liberty,

Grossberg et al., (2006:397) articulate that liberty “is freedom from intrusion by government”. We can draw from the Libertarian model, its recognition of humans as rational beings and allowance of the platform to reason and choose right from wrong. This is suitable for the voter making electoral decisions. Codes of ethics are placed to ensure that there is accountability for infringing on the freedoms of others and in the free marketplace of ideas the truth can be told arguably, through free competition. Grossberg et al., (2006) point out that both models parallel each other in their principles which supports the main argument for this study. According to Grossberg et al., (2006:408) “the two viewpoints share, to some degree, two key assumptions that more radical critics will question: the general rationality of the audience, the ability to separate truth from falsehood, and the assumption underlying *this* assumption, that of an independent discoverable truth in the first place”. Yes, a point of departure for these models may be the role of government where libertarian theory would argue that the government should not play a role in the press while social responsibility advocates the inclusion thereof. Nevertheless, an intersection between ethics and both models tie in neatly with truth, balance and independence of basic newspaper reporting.

A study by Skjerdal in 2001 contrasts both these models that informed media practice – the ‘watchdog discourse’ (libertarian) and the ‘nation-building discourse’ (social responsibility). The study determined the most suitable fit for South Africa during the transition to democracy after 1994, through discourse newspaper analysis of 102 newspapers between 1996 and 1999. Skjerdal contended in his research that the watchdog role of the media shifted after 1994 to that of nation-building but that the two are not mutually exclusive. At the time when our democracy was young and the country needed to be supported and developed, nation building was crucial. However the libertarian role was equally important to ensure good governance and accountability. According to Skjerdal (2001: 34) “while libertarianism champions distinct roles between the two institutions, with the press serving primarily through its watchdog functions towards the government, the social responsibility model is not foreign to the idea that both the press and the government have a nation-building function, thus cooperation between the two institutions is sometimes desirable and necessary”.

2.5.5 The South African Context

This thesis argues that the incorporation of both models equally within the press as advocated by past research, is a necessary precondition for ethical reporting. Normative press theory argues for a certain press system as the most appropriate prescription for specific social

circumstances. Owing to both models' linkages with varying political systems, Skjerdal (2001:32) maintains that "normative press models must therefore not be disconnected from the socio-political conditions they grew out of". In light of our inimical transition to democracy and further threats to democracy owing to government corruption, it is argued that the press in service to the state primarily would supplant its libertarian (watchdog) role which serves public interest.

According to research by Voltmer (2013:39) it was stated that in South Africa, "debating the meaning of normative ideas – national versus public interest, and negotiating the boundaries between independence and responsibility played, and still do, an important part in South Africa's attempt to construct and reinvent its own vision of democracy in a non-Western context". Research by De Beer, Malila, Beckett and Wassermann (2016:41) argue that "the South African media tends to defend its freedom vigorously, while media studies critics have argued that this freedom should be tempered with a responsibility towards transformation of society and a more active striving towards reinstating the dignity of subaltern communities". However, President Jacob Zuma, Prinsloo (2013:8) provides "recently lamented the dearth of "patriotic reporting" and argues that "the media spoon-feeds the public with negative stories about government failures but fails to tell the story of how the government has turned the country around from the illegal apartheid system to a vibrant democracy" (Prinsloo, 2013:8). According to Prinsloo (2014) the ANC speaks of a developmental state and journalism that furthers national goals. Cottle (2006:3) further adds "this stands in some contrast to the broader self-conception that tends to inform the journalism profession "as public watchdog and provider of information and resources of public opinion formation". But, government's expectations of the press to support the state must heed the numerous accounts of state corruption. For example, cases of corruption reported by various media countrywide, of the over 200 000 leaked emails among the influential Gupta family who have several business interests in South Africa, of the links of the president's son Duduzane Zuma to the Gupta's, of cabinet members and CEO's of state owned enterprises regarding substantial offshore accounts linked to state contracts. As of August, 2018 a Judicial Commission of Inquiry instituted by President Ramaphosa, led by Deputy Chief Justice Ray Zondo, to investigate the allegations of state capture, is in progress. President Jacob Zuma was recalled as President by the ANC on 13 February, 2018 amid state corruption claims. These are public interest concerns that shape our decision-making process as the electorate. Highlighting these incessant corrupt occurrences, revealing morally unacceptable behaviour, means the media must balance the

rights of the citizens against national interest goals. The media has been at the forefront in exposing the government on such issues which will no doubt go against state interest. The media as the Fourth Estate remains under pressure and the MAT and government proclivities towards a developmental state remain a threat. In this context, this thesis will discuss the concept of developmental journalism next.

2.5.5.1 Developmental Journalism in South Africa

Social Responsibility theory presents a critical or developmental view that has arguably paved the way for a more representative and all-inclusive approach for the press. The concept of 'development journalism' was officially adopted in the 1960's by the Press Freedom Foundation of Asia. It was encouraged and practiced in Asia as well as Sub-Saharan Africa. Ali (1978:191) cited in Ogan (1982:5) explains that "the approach of this new journalism which serves the interests of countries throughout the region is to cover news 'that reflected social relevance and underlined a sense of commitment of Asian journalists to economic development in the broadest sense of the term' ". Development journalism, according to Krüger (2004:10) is "where the craft is practised in a way that furthers national development objectives". The development journalism model has been interpreted differently by journalist and governments in different countries. Ogan (1982:7) provides:

When Leonard Sussman, director of Freedom House, refers to development support communication, he calls this government-controlled form of communications 'developmental journalism' as opposed to the more critical independent form (as described by Aggarwala) which Sussman labels 'development journalism.' Sussman says that most Third World countries share the notion that developmental journalism is a 'useful concept to assure the availability of mass communication for mobilizational or integrational purposes.' He draws the parallel between propaganda and the use of developmental journalism.

Amitabha-Chowdhury, credited as one of the creators of the concept and who had regrets in creating it because "of the attempts by governments to remould citizens in the name of development journalism", does not believe that the development journalism model will necessarily promote authoritarianism and restrict a free media. (Ogan, 1982:8). Ogan (1982:8) contends that "in spite of Chowdhury's regrets, he states that even though development journalism has often been used in authoritarian contexts, it can serve a useful purpose in the Third World without the media becoming a servant of the government". Irrespective of how this philosophy is referenced, it has been used interchangeably, researched under developmental journalism by many authors, including De Beer et al., (2016) in South African journalism.

Expanding on the argument, Voltmer (2008:26) asserts that “in new democracies there is often the claim that the media should put themselves into the service of national unity, political stability and economic development”, but adds that “while these are legitimate normative debates, they are frequently instrumentalized by governments to curb the independence of the media”. Clearly, a congruence between the social responsibility paradigm and the authoritarian element of developmental journalism is evident. Authoritarian theory promotes a totalitarian regime where the press is subservient to vested power and act in the interest of the state. McQuail (1987:111) offers “the press should avoid acting in contravention of prevailing moral and political values”. This cleaves into aspects of developmental journalism where the press is expected to advance national goals and objectives. For example, McQuail’s (1987:119) research imparts that “the state should restrict the media if economic interests and the development needs of society are at stake”. Similarly, Social Responsibility theory considers responsibility to society and “supporting democratic principles” (McQuail, 1987:116). Thus, it is thus possible to perceive the parallelism of the model with developmental journalism and mistake the likeness with support for state goals.

However, developmental journalism is conversely a means of promoting policies aimed at developing countries emerging from autocracies. In Africa, Voltmer (2008) writes of the lack of “institutional infrastructure” and “administrative know-how” to run their countries where ongoing issues of weak and incompetent state institutions, plagued by corruption and socioeconomic factors, negatively impact the media after transition. The dilemma highlights that, while an ‘independent’ press challenges repressive regimes, they must also simultaneously be conscious of the more immediate needs of society and their part in achieving this – even if it necessitates support for the state. The social responsibility model can thus be used by governments to hold journalists to primarily advancing the national development process. But, the social responsibility paradigm also reconciles freedom of the press with its responsibility toward all of society, advocating nation-building and supporting the interests of representatives of all groups in society. De Beer et al., 2016:40) propound “when practised as a type of journalism that examines, evaluates and reports on the relevance and success of developmental programmes – which also means criticizing governments that fall short of developmental goals – developmental journalism can in fact be seen as consistent with a social responsibility approach”. This study argues for a press that supports national development programmes and wider goals by practising developmental journalism to the extent that it cooperates with government and participates in educating and informing the public on

government development projects. Simultaneously, the press in its development role must also be critical and analyse such government projects, engaging and reporting back to the public against a backdrop of cooperation between the state and the press, with the objective of progressive social change. Therefore, the argument put forward by this study is that developmental journalism, defined in the South African context, can work compatibly alongside the social responsibility theory and libertarianism, encompassing a watchdog role, over the state.

Nevertheless, there appears to be a fresh outlook adopted by the media in South Africa. A study by De Beer et al., (2016) examined whether the media should be developmental journalists or watchdogs and included a mixed method of face-to-face questionnaires and of journalists, and managers in the press and broadcast in a regional and national survey. De Beer et al., (2016:39) assert “the media are determined to fulfil what they consider to be journalism in the public interest, and as such, ‘remain free to play its role as “watchdog of democracy”’ (Wasserman et al., 2005:47). They further add “for the mainstream media this means uncovering corruption, monitoring government and ensuring all activities that are deemed by them in the public interest are reported on”. According to De Beer et al., (2016) the normative discourse in South Africa postulates that the media as an adversarial watchdog is in binary opposition to that of an institution contributing to developmental objectives in society. However, the research highlights that there is no binary opposition in which journalists view their roles in South Africa. For De Beer et al., (2016:48) “the extreme contradiction between acting as a watchdog of the government for the purpose of informing the public at the cost of providing support for national development and criticizing the government unnecessarily is in fact regarded by journalists surveyed as not contradictory”. Monitoring and holding the government accountable remain foremost in the minds of journalism. On wide-ranging journalistic opinions, for example De Beer et al., (2016) provide:

I would say we support democracy by being a pillar of democracy by actually being a watchdog on parliament, on government institutions’. One journalist felt that journalists in South Africa are supporting national interest by ‘holding government accountable. ‘People think that by pointing out the shortfall of government you are not promoting development, but that actually is, because the more people know the more they will work towards bettering the society.

Thus, De Beer et al., (2016) argue that “the extreme contradiction between acting as a watchdog of the government for the purpose of informing the public at the cost of providing support for national development and criticizing the government unnecessarily is in fact regarded by

journalists surveyed as not contradictory”. In the current socio-political climate, it is extremely challenging to give prominence to only one of the two theories. It is noted in De Beer et al., (2016) that both models are not independent or contrary and that the social responsibility function still allows for active criticism of government while contributing to developmental goals.

Still, a major stumbling block in the South African and the broader African context is pointed by Wasserman and Maweu (2014:4) who argue that “normative frameworks from established democracies in the global north, where the media’s role in facilitating political decision-making takes place within a more individualistic framework, can therefore not be imported to African contexts without due attention to specific lived experiences of journalists, and these frameworks may need modification accordingly”. This has manifested in calls from many scholars for ‘ubuntu journalism’ based on the African ideology of community, which encourages social cohesion and recognition and respect for social norms and values and communal identity. Fourie (2007:210) explicitly explains that “the term *ubuntu* appears to be derived from the Zulu maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, meaning “a person is a person through other persons or “I am because of others.” Metz (2011:539) adds comprehensively that “Ubuntu ethics can be termed anti-egoistic as it discourages people from seeking their own good without regard for, or to the detriment of, others and the community. Ubuntu promotes the spirit that one should live for others.” But, Ward (2004:142) argues that “Ubuntuism’s communal values are thought to be more in line with African society than a Western stress on a free and individualistic press”. Within the context of media, Fourie (2007:212) expresses that “the overall purpose of the media would be to play a developmental role in the sense of stimulating citizen participation, community participation and consensus based on widespread consultation with the community”.

Ubuntu recognises the value of human dignity, solidarity with others in the community and humanitarianism. It moreover resonates with values that our country, given our past history of racial division, can profit from. However, this researcher argues to the contrary for realising the goals of connecting ethics with elections. To explicate this position, Van Binsbergen (2001:67) is utilised to highlight the disadvantages of Ubuntu in South African today:

- that (like any world-view wherever and whenever) they inform people’s thought and behaviour only partially and far from totally, and

- that even in the remotest places and most intimate, most strongly signified situations these values, beliefs and images are often confronted with antagonistic pressures deriving from more globalised domains from contemporary South Africa.

Consequently, Van Binsbergen (2001:73) argues “how then could ubuntu, conjuring up images of a viable and intact village society, be expected to make a difference in the utterly globalised context of urban Southern Africa and its conflict-ridden social, industrial, ethnic, and political scene?” This thesis argues that we must consider that we are living - to a great extent - in a modernised, urbanised society in South Africa that is part of a globalised world structure, wherein our economic, social and political edifices weigh heavily on the principles of Ubuntu. SA is a country of diverse cultures and dissimilar backgrounds with unequal access to all media. This is combined with the proliferation of new media technology where a more liberal form of media is taking shape. This includes online newspapers, blogs, podcasts, and social media such as Facebook or Twitter, which offer more platforms for opinion and debate. This cannot be discounted as an influencing factor on society and how we use the media. Voltmer (2013:202) strengthens this argument by adding “this idealized view of culture disregards the diversity and complexity of cultural and journalistic practices within local cultures and the many ways in which indigenous orientations have interpenetrated, merged and synthesized”. Kasoma (1994:30) also contends that Ubuntu journalism does not always translate to a more unified way of reporting, informing: “the problem of African governments trying to legislate to enforce journalism ethics has also partly arisen out of a misconception in Africa that journalism and journalists owe a moral duty to government”. According to Kasoma (1994:30):

This author (Kasoma,1993a) has also bemoaned the unethical practice of some African journalists who have taken advantage of people’s ignorance and churned for them information from unethical journalistic mills which has resulted in misinformation, disinformation, propaganda, sensationalism, masking of bad elements in society, publishing of information to paint those whom journalists do not like in a bad light, avoiding publication of certain news because journalists do not want to hurt certain quarters in society etc.

If we recount the aforementioned instances of corruption in South Africa, it is conceivable that the values of ubuntu may not allow for a translation to ethical journalistic practices. Van Binsbergen (2001:76) reverberates this estimation by arguing “with a crime rate that is by far the highest in the world, post-apartheid South Africa needs, in addition to the sociability of ubuntu, more factual, locutionary, and urban-based tools of self-redress — including a profound commitment to class analysis and gender analysis; an admittance that certain contradictions are simply too real to smother under expressions of sociability and populism”.

Furthermore, cultural factors that resonate with ubuntu journalism have the capacity to inhibit an ethics –oriented approach to press journalism for the elections. Cultural norms that echo a patriarchal system within which corrupt leaders are not accountable for their actions, do not advance the community. Thus, this researcher, while acknowledging the merits of ubuntu journalism, resonate with the views of Kasoma (1994), owing to prevailing government corruption which has influence over state decision-making processes and which is threatening both our economy and democracy. Hence, this study argues that Ubuntu journalism is not the most fitting model for press ethics for the elections in South Africa at this time.

More universal criticisms of normative theories and the Four Theories of the Press by Voltmer (2012:118) mention that “even though *Four Theories* has been acknowledged as making a major contribution towards understanding variations between media systems, the book has also been widely criticized, mainly because of its exclusive focus on normative ideas and a lack of empirical grounding”. Adding to the foregoing contention, Ward (2015:65) adds that the “Four Theories places too much emphasis on the role of idea, ignoring non-philosophical factors. In response to the Four Theories, McQuail (1983) has proposed rather the “development theory” and the “democratic-participant media theory”. For him, such theories would be more cognisant of developing democracies, emerging from dictatorships and underdevelopment, lack of skills, infrastructure and money to develop a free-market media system. But, Uzuegbunam (2013:8) counters that “development media and democratic participant theories could be deemed tenable only when a socially responsible media/press is in place”. Still, Christians et al., (2009:25) suggest “the genius of the social responsibility tradition has been its ability to find a balance between freedom and control, self-regulation and public regulation, respect for both national culture and cultural diversity, personal needs, relatively high cultural quality and mass comprehension”. South Africa’s 2014 elections paves the way for discussions of a socially responsible press, but where restricting the media could have negative costs for free speech, given the agenda for press regulation against the backdrop of government corruption. The discussion now turns to how these models will be utilised in this study.

2.5.6 Application of the Libertarian and Social Responsibility models: The Proposed Developmental Journalism Model

This thesis proposes combining both the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian models and thereby developing a framework that incorporates the principles of both and then applying it to the South African press for elections. This study further uses it as a form of triangulation to

revaluate the employed CDA methodology. In using both models to address ethics, it is challenging to find cases where newspaper reports make direct references to theories, such as actual references to concepts of ‘independent press’ or ‘nation building’. Thus, from this study’s perspective, CDA is most suitable because it is sensitive to the text – able to identify terms or themes unobtrusively embedded within and bring intent to the forefront. It can highlight propensities towards either a libertarian or social responsibility leaning and so highlight ethical breaches. By being truthful, balanced and independent, the newspaper ought to parallel either or both models in the newspaper reports. Thus, the present thesis attempts to locate general principles as espoused in both theories, including:

- Libertarianism: independence, watchdog, freedom of the press, transparency,
- Social responsibility: public interest, state interest, nation-building, responsible journalism,

It next combines the principles of both the models for the elections as argued that a combination of both is required for ethical reporting as this research argues that there is a parallel connection between the Social Responsibility theory and Developmental Journalism theory. The government has argued that the media does not promote state achievements and have doggedly focused on a developmental state and journalism (Prinsloo, 2014). For the elections, research (MMA, 2014 and Duncan (2015) argue that the press did not sufficiently publicise the policies of the contending parties and did not give attention to national and social issues. These are also developmental concerns and it is therefore apparent that combining both the social responsibility and libertarian theories, incorporating the principles of developmental journalism, is relevant in South Africa’s elections.

2.5.6.1 Incorporating the Developmental Journalism Model

The proposed model of this thesis argues for the incorporation of the development theory advocated by McQuail (1987). The genesis of this theory is the media’s support for the economic goals of the government. Fourie (2007:198) argues “the most important principle of the *development theory* of the media is the emphasis on economic development” adding “media liberties should be made subordinate to the achievement of these ideals, in this view”. Some of the basic assumptions of this model as proposed by McQuail (1987:119) include:

- The media should make a positive contribution to the national development process;
- The state should restrict the media if economic interests and the development needs of the society are at stake;

- Journalists have both responsibilities and liberties in obtaining and distributing information.

This aforementioned theory entails support for democracy, but it would appear that this is in terms of socio-economic responsibilities of the press within the primacy of national development goals. In this vein McQuail (1987:119) postulates that “in the name of protecting development objectives, the state has the right to intervene by restricting and censoring the media”. This could problematically equate with government propaganda. Against South Africa’s political backdrop with the narrative of state corruption predominating in the media and various inquiries into state capture current, this model may conceivably disseminate a biased government narrative to counter the negative publicity. However, the principles of developmental journalism are that of ‘development’ and the welfare of all of society, which also typify the social responsibility model. Although developmental journalism appears to contrasts with the broader watchdog role encapsulated in the Libertarian model, this thesis adapts and modifies it to conform to libertarian values. By combining all three models, the values befitting all allow the press to contribute to national development goals and subsequent economic interests and development needs of society, that is, being a responsible watchdog over the state for the public. Press responsibilities of evaluating and distributing information for the public also encompass criticisms of government where they fall short of their developmental goals, and this is what De Beer et al., (2016:40) argue. This similarly cleaves into the libertarian role of the press, altering the traditional watchdog function, to embrace the development of the nation while still being able to expose state transgressions. Hence, a combination of both paradigms with developmental journalism is envisaged by this study. The proposed model thus integrates developmental aspects into the social responsibility and libertarian paradigms and argued as follows:

- Freedom of the press: McQuail (1987:119) speaks not only of responsibilities but also of the liberties of the press for promoting developmental goals. Hence it can be independent of government regulation to be able to provide free and fair election coverage in the welfare of all of society.
- Responsible journalism in the public interest: it entails responsibilities to the public in how the press obtains and distributes information on the elections and advances positive development needs of society;

- Ethical watchdog over government: this is borrowed from the work of De Beer et al., (2016) that advocates being critical of developmental goals is consistent with the social responsibility approach and extends to watchdog journalism;
- Obligations to society (both in the state and public interest): it means making a constructive contribution to the national developmental process and also necessitates giving preference to cultural and national issues, that is, critically advancing vital election information (libertarian role) in a socially responsible manner.

The proposed model thus supports the developmental goals for the elections to the extent that it critically evaluates government policies and processes to provide up-to-date proficient information for the electorate, thereby fulfilling what normative theory necessitates. It stimulates citizen and community participation within wider society, which furthers the social responsibility role of the press. Hence, the current thesis will incorporate the aforementioned developmental aspects by searching for key terms pertaining to the social responsibility and libertarian theories in the newspaper reports for the proposed model. It is anticipated that the juxtaposition of both models, incorporating developmental journalism in the media discourse in South Africa can realise an ethically-oriented approach to reporting of the elections.

2.6 Conclusion

The review of the literature has thus explored and highlighted that the election case studies for 2014 points to paucity in the overall media election coverage and a detachment from comprehensive reporting on social issues affecting citizens. The media were not meaningful guides for the electorate. It is evident that press ethics is not a 'black and white' concept but rather abstracted, adapting to different social, political, cultural and economic contexts. While our present political system necessitates a watchdog press, the insufficient election coverage is a testament to the need for a more socially engaged attitude towards the public in reporting. According to Jones's (2004:188), "a combination of both the watchdog and nation-building roles, applied ethically, can "improve both the quality of life in communities, and the public capacity to solve problems". Granted, it is not easy for the press to uphold their autonomy, walking a tightrope between their responsibilities to society and to the state. The Fourth Estate not only faces the threat of state regulation, but also answers to various other invested stakeholders including the editor, commercial shareholders exerting economic pressure, pressure groups such as trade unions or environmental groups, citizens and their readership. Notwithstanding the difficult political terrain, the press is nonetheless necessary for an

equitable election. Therefore, within its democratic role, the newspaper must report the news in a manner that informs and educates truthfully, giving the public the space to decide right from wrong. As the Fourth Estate it can legitimately hold politicians and governments to account. With commercialisation of the media, technological online media developments and media regulation, the importance of codes of ethics is underscored. It speaks to the values and principles of journalists in helping the public make conscious choices in electing a just political dispensation where the electorate is guaranteed respect, freedom and dignity in society.

This chapter has reviewed literature on general ethics case studies both internationally and nationally and highlighted ethical gaps in newspapers. It further reviewed case studies linking the press to elections in Hadland (2012) and Davis (2004). The academic opinion of Duncan (2015), MMA (2014), Schultz-Herzberg (2014) and Radu and Bird (2014) highlighted deficient reportage on the elections. Berger (2003) and Muleya (2013) emphasised ethical principles relevant for elections. The theoretical framework of the Social responsibility and Libertarian theories incorporated the deontology and utilitarianism meta-ethical theories and applied these to press ethics and the social responsibility and libertarian models. The models were positioned in the South African context and subsequently recognised the significance of developmental journalism within. This chapter thus concludes, advancing the view that the most suitable ethical theoretical framework for South Africa is a balance of the libertarian and social responsibility models incorporating developmental journalism to uphold ethical election reporting. Next, Chapter 3 details the methodology employed for this study, that is, Critical Discourse Analysis, for examining ethical or unethical reporting on the elections.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The rationale for this exploratory qualitative study of CDA is to investigate whether or not the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* reported unethically for the 2014 general elections. Inductive reasoning, which is generally applicable to qualitative analysis is applied to the study. The selected methodology of CDA is suitable as it deals with summarising lengthy articles in order to develop a process for establishing underlying themes in the texts and thereby allows for multiple readings in the analysis. It allows for the description of the key features of the text and subsequently plans a set of procedures that can be used to analyse the newspapers. It employs categories of context, headlines and lexical style (macro-analysis) and nominalisation, relational values, quotations, active and passive sentences, modality and sentence links (micro-analysis) in order to address the main research issue of ethical or unethical press reporting for the elections. The theoretical framework of the current study, that is, the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories, further serve as a form of triangulation for validating the results. Clear links can then be established between the research objectives and the findings to make sure that the analysis can be defended. Thus, the research aims to describe the election reports as truthfully and precisely as possible, and then employ CDA to seek patterns in the reporting that can be linked to determine truth, balance and independence to formulate an overall conclusion on whether the newspapers were ethical or unethical for the elections. Hence, deductively derived conclusions are not possible. Finally, the research sets out a proposed model that incorporates the Libertarian and Social Responsibility models.

3.2 THE RESEARCH METHOD: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

Discourse analysis is a disciplinary means of studying dialogue that have a variety of meanings associated with it. Discourse analysis, according to Van Dijk (1991:44) is “a multidisciplinary approach to the study of language use and communication in their socio-cultural contexts”. Van Dijk (1991:45) further argues that “discourse analysis specifically aims to show how the cognitive, social, historical, cultural, or political contexts of language use and communication impinge on the contents, meanings, structures, or strategies of text or dialogue, and vice versa, how discourse itself is an integral part of and contributes to the structures of these contexts”. Fundamentally, this means that in studying discourse, the language contained is possibly predisposed to the social, political and cultural contexts which are reproduced in texts. Thus,

discourse analysis is the analysis of the texts in connection with the broader social structures which have bearing on the meaning of the texts. Van Dijk (1991:45) advances:

For the analysis of news in the Press this means, among other things, that we show how social or political structures are also manifest in the meanings or organization of news reports, and how such news reports may in turn contribute to the formation or change of social cognitions of the readers or the reproduction or legitimation of power of elites, as we have indicated above (Van Dijk, 1991:45).

For this thesis, the critical approach to discourse analysis is necessary as it is concerned with the language used within the discourse in the broader macro social context in South Africa. Broadly, CDA originated from critical theory of language. In this light, Fairclough (1995:7) imparts: “such analysis requires attention to textual form, structure and organization at all levels; phonological, grammatical, lexical (vocabulary) and higher levels of textual organization in terms of the exchange systems (the distribution of speaking turns), structures of argumentation, and generic (activity type) structures”. In order to highlight the ideological meanings which are significant to determine whether the reporting was ethical or unethical, the properties of the text such as vocabulary, grammar, style and tone are relevant.

This research is grounded on the work of Fairclough (1989:2) who provides that a “‘three-dimensional’ framework where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (process of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice”. This is important especially in terms of how social and political structures can become ostensible in the meanings in the articles. These reports can contribute to forming or altering perceptions of the reader, can strengthen or weaken the power of political elites, and thus have consequences for the voting public. Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework is crucial not just as an analysis of the spoken word but also for the analysis of discursive events as part of sociocultural practices.

CDA is just one method among several methods used for the study of the media. This study has found others that have applied corresponding approaches to successfully highlight ideological and biased practices in newspaper analysis. For example, a study by Ghannam (2011) used CDA to investigate “how the six Lebanese newspapers with different political ideologies reported the same event displaying different attitudes through the use of language”. CDA of the articles examined how the event was represented at the micro and macro-level. A

further study by Shojaei, Youssefi and Hosseini (2013:867) of the Iran Nuclear Program, Iran Sanctions, Syria crisis in the 10 UK and US papers between 25 January to 25 August 2012, highlight how ideological ideas are construed and represented in the western print media using CDA. The study argues that linguistic tools play a crucial role in biased representation of the news stories". Finally Jones (2004) employed discourse analysis to conclude that the press reported unethically on the violence leading up to the 1994 elections. These studies help to legitimise the current research as it seeks to determine whether ideological representations of a newspaper or writer are embedded in the language, revealing political parallelism and bias in the election coverage and whether such representations highlight unethical conduct.

3.2.1 Focus: Media discourse

The focus of this study is on media discourse with an emphasis on written texts in the form of the newspaper. According to Stokes (2003:54) "media texts are part of our world" which form part of discussions about what happens in the world". Although the election is a political event, the aim is to examine the language used in the newspaper and focus on the details in the text to find any hidden meaning which may slant how the event is represented, which can impact on the reader's interpretation of the election. Thus, the study focuses on media discourse where CDA is valuable for such types of media research. The attention is on the press and how specific discourses are advanced through language use. The study of language using CDA can, through grammar, highlight partiality towards a particular party and the promotion of the newspaper's ideology, thus downgrading the importance of other political parties.

Different newspapers have differing political ideologies and conceivably interpret and report the same event differently. This is very cautiously voiced in this study after reviewing the various literature, where opinion points to political bias and where findings indicate lack of balanced and comprehensive reporting on elections. Paul and Elder (2002) cited in Jones (2004:61) states that "all major media and press in all countries of the world present events in terms that presuppose or imply the correctness of the ideology (or ideologies) dominant in that country". Therefore, for this study, media discourse allows for the examination of the reports through CDA to determine whether truth, balance and independence was affected by political ideologies, thereby impacting on ethical reporting of the newspaper.

3.2.2 The Suitability of CDA

This research study investigates whether reporting on the elections was ethical or unethical. Ethics, however, is an abstract concept open to various interpretations. This is problematic because a newspaper can legitimately hold a political ideology which it publishes in its editorial and opinion pages, but that ideology must not influence the objectivity when reporting on breaking hard news stories. Jones (2004) shows in her ethics study on hard news reports that ideological positions have indeed impacted ethical reporting in specific newspapers. In the election context, being ethical means reporting the truthful authentic facts of an event and adequately informing the citizens and upholding democracy. Any nonconformities and predisposition have the capacity to affect truth, balance, and independence in the news reports, misinforming readers and thus behaving unethically in accordance with the provisions of Press Code in South Africa. This research study argues that different newspapers can use language, based on their ideologies, to report and interpret the same event differently, which may influence how an article is worded. Language has the ability to promote certain ideologies, distort reality and create positive or negative representations about certain groups. CDA has the capacity to highlight any implicit inferences therein as its approach is not just descriptive but also critical. It allows the researcher to go to the source, that is, the text itself, and extract the meaning embedded in the language. It can also highlight how the press legitimates power and dominance through discourse. Thus, the multidisciplinary nature of CDA incorporating the predetermined categories of Fairclough (1989) and Van Dijk (1991) offer a useful method to determine ethical reporting in newspapers.

3.2.3 Implications of CDA

According to Rahimi and Riasati (2011) “critical analysis of the texts attempts to create a sensitivity and consciousness about the implicitly left, invisible section, misinformation, manipulation, and misinterpretation practiced by some writers and speakers”. Rahimi and Riasati (2011) impart that “another important insight that can be gained from CDA studies is that language is a very strong device in promoting certain ideologies, institutions, nationalistic self-glorification, positive self and negative other presentations, fallacious arguments, demolishing of minority languages, specifying religious and political taboos, political conflicts, suppression of minorities, distorting the realities, construction and imposition of ideologies, and the like”.

For this research, CDA is a useful guide as it aids the reader to look beyond the literal meaning in an article and can help researchers apply their minds, think critically, be perceptive and use foresight when reading what the press offers. CDA helps to raise awareness to meanings implicit in the discourse, prompt perceptiveness to ideologically motivated discourse and empower researchers to recognise fairness and equality in society or lack thereof. It further allows for the exploration of truth, balance and independence which is essential in hard news reports and can ultimately help determine ethical reporting – the result of which is a form of social action for the elections against the corrupt. Rahimi and Riasati (2011) positively add that “CDA propagates the idea that enhancement of critical thinking is conducive to a society in which justice and equality are materialized and power is distributed fairly among people”.

3.2.4 Criticisms of CDA

It is important to note that CDA is not free of criticism. Blackledge (2005:17) quotes Schegloff (1997) by explaining that “Schegloff takes the position that text analysis should produce description of texts first, and only then should critical analysis be conducted” adding “Schegloff’s concern is that in CDA the researcher can introduce into the analysis pre-ordained categories which arise from the bias of the researcher rather than from the text itself”. However this is countered by Van Dijk (2001) which is necessary given that this thesis is founded on the principles of Van Dijk (1991). Blackledge (2005:17) points out:

In terms of the selection of which discourse structures should be used van Dijk (2001) argues that selection is necessary because a ‘complete’ analysis of a text (let alone a large corpus) would be quite unmanageable, as it would have to take account of paraverbal, visual, phonological, syntactic, semantic stylistic, rhetorical pragmatic, and interactional levels and structures.

Blackledge (2005:18) argues that “instead CDA must select which structures are most appropriate if analysis is to answer specific questions about social issues”. Notwithstanding these criticisms, taking into account issues of representativeness in selecting the texts, the study argues that Van Dijk (1991) and Fairclough (1989) provide the most suitable categories for the specific election issue and the derived question of ethics to describe texts accurately and impartially. Sufficient articles have been selected for this exploratory cross-sectional study to address the main research issue. This section has provided an overall assessment of the research method CDA. The research instrument is highlighted below.

3.3 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

3.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Firstly, this study utilises the principles and practices of CDA in line with accordance with Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for studying discourse, that is, the text, discursive practice and orders of discourse. According to Fairclough (1985:2) "the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice". In Fairclough's first level analysis, the text is the news reports and analysed in accordance with the categories for the CDA (explicated in Section 3.5). For the second level analysis, that is, discourse practice, the first level text is part of discursive practice and is produced and distributed through the newspaper. CDA analyses how the texts have been produced and distributed by the discursive practice. Finally, the discursive event, forms the third level analysis, that is, the election as a sociocultural practice and related to both text and discursive practice

Secondly, the research study incorporates Van Dijk's macro and micro-structure analysis in the methodology where Van Dijk (sa) imparts that "language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order", adding that, "power, dominance, and equality between social groups are typically terms that belong to the macro-level of analysis". This corresponds to Fairclough's categories insofar as the text including grammar, vocabulary, the structure and style, integrate a sociocultural analysis of a discursive event to wholly address the issue of ideological norms of the newspaper. It thus incorporates both the micro and macro-structures for a complete CDA. A macro and micro level analysis bridges the gap by addressing the political, cultural, and societal dimensions at the macro-level and interactional, discursive, and cognitive features at the micro-level. The rationale is that the macro-level analysis assists in the understanding of social trends, patterns and changes, which are shaped by social practices and power relations, in the wider context of elections. The reader and voter arguably interpret the election event through the press, based on the rules and norms society lives by. At the micro-level, the researcher is concerned with language use by looking at the language (text syntax, metaphoric structure, etc.) in the news reports. By comparing the language used in these news reports, any ideology, modes of persuasion or forms of argumentation, either explicitly or implicitly articulated by journalists is revealed and applied to broader social context.

The purpose of linking both approaches is that Fairclough and Van Dijk's methods balance each other when combined, allow the study to link language in texts, power and ideology to broader historical, social and cultural social structures in society. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:66) reinforce the argument, offering: "for Fairclough, text analysis alone is not sufficient for discourse analysis, as it does not shed light on the links between texts and societal and cultural processes and structures". Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) argue for a textual analysis that incorporates a social analysis and this is where the macro analysis is beneficial. It argues that social practices are resultant of the social organisation and the power relationships which impact on how the media is organised and how meaning is derived from their practices. CDA can combine different levels from both Van Dijk and Fairclough where for example, both make use of rhetorical devices such as metaphors (used in this analysis) to highlight political ideological attachments of the paper or attach negative or positive connotations to participants. Both authors equally identify syntax, that is, the grammatical structure of sentences, as important in linguistics and discourse analysis. Van Dijk (1991:45) explains syntactic style as an element of "surface forms" which comprise terms of the "underlying levels of the meanings, reference, functions of words, sentences, paragraphs, or whole texts, which are analysed by the semantic component of a linguistic grammar or a theory of discourse". Van Dijk (1991:45) points out that "together, surface forms and their underlying meanings, when used in a particular communicative situation, realize specific social acts, that is, so-called 'speech acts', such as assertions, questions, promises, threats, or accusations". The CDA criteria identifying these forms include nominalisation or sentence links, where an overlap is evidenced between both authors in realising the underlying meaning associated with texts. Therefore, the interdisciplinary approach of Van Dijk and Fairclough makes it possible to combine analyses of articles, taking into account the social context, given that our practices are largely influenced by our social-political experiences, without duplicating the analysis. For instance, South Africa's historical context is underpinned by the ideology of apartheid. It is thus necessary for the press to be mindful of stoking the fires, for example, not using the fear of the repeat of the political past to influence the voter to a particular political side or promote right-wing populism.

In this light, power relations is a significant example for the elections. Fairclough (1989:85) highlights power inequalities and argues that ideologies are most effective when they are implicit, explaining that "power inequalities" cease to "function ideologically" if one sees that a certain part of common sense is supporting such inequalities. As per the view of Fairclough (1989:86) "invisibility is achieved when ideologies are brought to discourse not as explicit

elements of the text, but as the background assumptions which on the one hand lead the text producer to 'textualism' the world in a particular way, and on the other hand lead the interpreter to interpret the text in a particular way". Fairclough (1989:86) highlights 'political ideology' in texts as a starting point because "we can all find political texts whose ideological common sense is at odds with our own". At the core of this researcher's values is racial equality, civil rights, media freedom and democracy, but also social order. Therefore this researcher's ideologies are founded on related principles of liberalism and democracy while acknowledging the fundamental role of the state in socio-economic progress and the rule of law.

Consequently, this research argues that specific word meanings or linguistic norms can highlight forms of ideology perpetuated by the writer or newspaper. For example, adding quotation marks to specific words can indicate that the writer is correlating with the word and validating the meaning attached to it. Context is also extremely important, given ideologies of apartheid or liberalism through liberal democratic principles in the Constitution and whether the hard news reports support such philosophies implicitly in the text in hard news reports. The analysis will use the CDA categories such as context and headlines (macro-analysis) and any nominalisation processes, paraphrasing or quotes (micro-level analysis), to highlight ideologies of the paper (Section 3.5). This is supported by the Libertarian and Social Responsibility theoretical framework. This researcher will search for key terms provided by these frameworks to show ideologies expressed by the writer as part of press freedom or social responsibility.

Therefore, a combination of both approaches aims to demonstrate how discourse contributes to the social structures in the South African context and how these contexts can possibly impinge on the meaning of the text. It allows any manifestations of political deliberations to be highlighted and has the potential to allow for a more comprehensive and holistic approach to the research. This allows for significant contributions to an understanding of whether overall ethical reporting is palpable in the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian*.

3.3.2 Triangulation: Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories

The Social Responsibility and Libertarian frameworks form the basis for this ethics study. These are also applied as a form of triangulation, that is "the analysis of the same data from two or more theoretical and conceptual perspectives (theory triangulation)" according to De Vos (1998) and Johnson (1997) cited in Du Plooy (2009:40). The purpose is to test the theoretical supposition of the CDA and to improve the validity and reliability of the analysis. The Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories are used to locate key terms common to

both theories as argued that a combination of both is necessary to realise ethical election reporting. Triangulation is explicated in Sections 3.6.1 and detailed in Chapter 4.

3.4 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

3.4.1 Qualitative Design

CDA is a qualitative methodology used in the analysis of language where the building of inductive reasoning is required, given the nature of the research. According to Babbi and Mouton (2011:270) “the primary goal of studies using this approach is defined as describing and understanding (Verstehen) rather than explaining human behaviour”. As the research problem deals with the abstract theme of ethics in the election context, the research required a non-standardised approach to the analysis that allowed for examining the linguistic characteristics, concerned with how language is used by the newspaper to influence truth, balance and independence in reporting. There are different methods in qualitative research such as ethnography, focus groups and participant-observation. However, this study adopts the case study approach which allows for an exhaustive analysis of the articles through purposively drawn samples which is more focused and therefore limited to the analysis of three newspapers. The sampling procedure is detailed in Section 3.4.4. The aim is describing and understanding, that is, the way journalists report, use language and the angle they provide, rather than predicting press behaviour during the elections. Therefore, the most appropriate method for examining the descriptive detail of the reports is CDA.

3.4.2 The Population

The research population included all the weekly national newspapers in South Africa, dated in 2014. According to SAARF, there are 23 weekly national newspapers in circulation in South Africa as of December, 2015. The accessible population of the study were 3 of the 23 national newspapers, that is, the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* from 11 April to 4 May, 2014, which coincided with the start of the study. The population parameters for the qualitative analysis include 12 newspapers, that is, 4 *City Press*, 4 *Mail & Guardian* and 4 *Sunday Times*. The selection of the sample is explained below in Section 3.4.4.

3.4.3 Units of analysis

The units of analysis include the main headline on the front page news article that refer to the upcoming elections for each of the three newspapers. In line with the goals of this study, the definition of an ‘election article’ is the main election headline article published by the newspaper on the front page on the 2014 General Election. For example, this could include

any election items such as coverage of political candidates and/or parties; campaign coverage; polling statistics; coverage of social issues such as unemployment, crime or education; or coverage of political scandals such as Nkandla. To define the election article, no objective measure has been used, as the study does not look at analysing one specific type of election event for the 2014 election.

Consistent with the goals of this study which is ethical reporting of the ‘main headline front page hard news items’ for the elections, these were selected by focusing on the main election story on the front page and not editorial or opinion, using homogenous purposive sampling (explicated below in Section 3.4.4.). The main story is at the top of the page in larger font than the articles below and on articles from page 2 onwards (including editorials or analysis or opinion). The layout is explicated in section 3.4.5. The main election story for these papers were mainly above the fold of the paper. Where the article is below the fold, it was still the main election report in larger font than the articles from page 2 onwards.

3.4.4 Sample and Size

For the section of the newspapers, the sampling method applied was purposive non-probability sampling. For purposive sampling Babbie and Mouton (2011:166) state “sometimes it’s appropriate for you to select your sample on the basis of your own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of your research aims: in short, based on your judgement and the purpose of the study”. Only three of the twenty-three national newspapers were selected, based on the ideological viewpoints of the newspapers, judgement of the researcher and based on which newspapers would be beneficial to the goals and objectives of the study. Moreover, the newspapers were selected by virtue of their readership and that they have reported on past elections. In December 2015, according to the South African Audience Research Foundation (SAARF), the City Press had approximately 1, 653 000 readers, 4.3% of total adults; *Mail & Guardian* had approximately 564 000 readers, 1.5% of total adults and *Sunday Times* had approximately 3, 704 000 readers, 9.7 % of total adults. According to Radu and Bird (2014:4) “a smaller, but influential print title is the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper largely owned by Zimbabwean publisher and entrepreneur Trevor Ncube. The *Mail & Guardian* is the sole survivor of the alternative media sector that flourished in the 1980s”. According to Press Reference (sa) *Sunday Times* “is the largest and most influential weekly paper in South Africa, and it is also the largest Sunday paper in sub-Saharan Africa”. *City Press*, according to Press Reference (sa) targets black readers (the majority of the population in South Africa) and is also influential among Afrikaners (Press Reference, sa). Only in the

readership of the *Mail & Guardian* has there been a marked improvement, but a decline in the readership of both the *City Press* and the *Sunday Times* between June and December 2015. Nevertheless, although fairly limited in range compared to the radio broadcast medium, print still has the capacity to reach a fairly large segment of the urban reading population, progressed by a growing middle class which can improve newspaper readership. This gives an indication of the location of these national newspapers in the South African media.

A further consideration for the choice of newspapers selected was the ideological viewpoints of papers and the role they play on how the elections are reported. According to the research on the press, Duncan (2011: 15) writes of the self-sufficiency of print media journalists in South Africa functioning within an “ideological ‘commonsense’” which impacts “news diversity”. Duncan (2011:15) argues that “the audience profiles of South Africa’s major newspapers imply that they constitute a fairly elite public sphere; therefore it should come as no surprise if newspaper content tends to prioritise the worldviews of these elites”. Therefore, the argument of Duncan (2014:22) thus holds that even if there is “ideological diversity” within the economic, social, cultural and political structures, it will not necessarily mean that the media will become more ideologically diverse. As explicated in research on the elections by Duncan (2014), past election coverage shows that *Mail & Guardian* who previously endorsed the ANC, validated the voter for the 2009 elections while the *Sunday Times* and the *City Press* did not endorse any political party. This arguably could point to shifting political ideologies in line with the respective newspapers.

However, the *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* have taken measures to invest in investigative journalism which, in principle, would translate to improved news content on the elections, and which benefits the public in terms of information and education. Duncan (2011:15) writes of the *Sunday Times* commissioning “senior investigative journalists” and the *Mail & Guardian* having “established a Centre for Investigative Journalism”. This piece of research also argues that these national papers have to date, covered the elections in South Africa and selecting these newspapers for elections is reasonable. Further, the steps taken to invest in quality investigative journalism could well translate to improved election coverage in 2014 for straight news reports as well.

The goal of this research is to analyse the main headline hard news report on the front page because it reports the facts without opinion or analysis. Thus, homogenous purposive sampling was applied specifically for the units of analysis, because it focuses on similar traits, that is,

the election theme on the front page of the newspaper. Homogeneous purposive sampling, in accordance with Etikan, Musa and Alkassim (2016:3) “focuses on candidates who share similar traits or specific characteristics” adding “for example, participants in Homogenous Sampling would be similar in terms of ages, cultures, jobs or life experiences”. “The idea is to focus on this precise similarity and how it relates to the topic being researched” (Etikan et al., 2016:4). Based on the goals of the research, the researcher decided what needed to be known and then selected the main election articles on the front page. The choice of the units of analysis were based on choosing the main election headline above the fold in the three newspapers.

In justifying the study’s position of the main headline front page election selection and accounting for bias, it must be noted that the study is limited to only one hard news front-page focus story on the elections. Granted, from the sample, the front page of the newspapers carried more than one election story. However, to validate the selection of one election story on the front page and address bias, this researcher argues that the weekly broadsheets offer breaking stories on the front page in South Africa which would indeed also include election news at election time. This argument is reverberated by Davis (2004) who argues that “ultimately, weekly broadsheets - with their longer lead times - tend to break most of South Africa’s big and important stories, thus setting the tone for the week’s news coverage”. This study argues that the front page stories are normally the breaking story in the broadsheets. The breaking or main election story would typically feature on the front page as the main headline and will therefore be able to provide the most up-to-date and relevant election details. Furthermore, the research also took into account the font size of the headline where more than one story was published and where the main election report appeared below the fold. Headlines of editorials and opinion were not measured. Thus, the purposive sample means that the front page news reports were not representative of all election reports of the three newspapers entirely and only included 12 front page reports.

The page layout design has also been considered in view of the selected broadsheets in South Africa having more than one front page news story, hence, the selection of the main headline front page focus story. The *City Press* and the *Sunday Times* are broadsheets with the standard dimensions of approximately 41 x 57.8 cm (410X578mm) as indicated of standard South African broadsheets in PaperSizes (sa). They are folded horizontally with the main headline story on the top half of the papers and double-page spread sheet and vertical content. According to Broadsheet (2017) “the most important newspaper stories are placed "above the

(horizontal) fold." The main election stories are located above the fold for both papers demonstrating the importance of the elections for them hence the focus of this research on one main election story. The exception is on 13 April 2014 where the *Sunday Times* does not feature any election item on the front page and on 11 and 27 April in the *City Press* where the election story is below the fold but still the main front page headline in bold.

The *Mail & Guardian* does not follow the format of the *City Press* and the *Sunday Times* and is a smaller compact tabloid size without the horizontal fold. Its dimensions are approximately 28 x 43 cm (280x430mm) in South Africa (Paper Sizes, sa) and the content is also vertical. However, this is the format and does not reflect tabloid content. As supported by Andrew Trench, editor of *The Witness*, quoted in Nevill (2014), the compact format in terms of "format, pricing and design" is "in line with international trends". Rogers (2018) adds "in recent years many broadsheets have been reduced in size in order to cut printing costs" for example "the New York Times was narrowed by 1 1/2 inches in 2008". In terms of the content it is argued that *Mail & Guardian* remains hard news and investigative journalism. This is echoed by Trevor Ncube, majority shareholder in *Mail & Guardian* who argues "we have claimed the position of being the leader in terms of investigative journalism and we are very proud of that," adding "we are not going for scandal for scandal's sake" (Davis, 2004). Davis (2004) further argues that "despite the move to add greater value to the *Mail & Guardian*, it is highly unlikely that the newspaper will alter its initial proposition and include more tabloid-style information to augment circulation".

The above explication of the format and justification for the choice of main front page headline story shows that the choice of newspapers is reasonable and applicable for this study. The researcher does not aim to generalise the findings to all weekly national newspapers but draws comparisons among the three newspapers. Further, as the research is qualitative, the findings cannot be generalised to all weekly national newspapers. However, they do provide insight into specific newspapers. Purposive sampling provides sufficient material for the purpose of the research and is representative of the main research issue.

Two significant points that must be highlighted is that the *Mail & Guardian* differs from the other two papers in that it is a weekly Friday and not a weekend paper. The front page is a contents page containing only the headlines and relevant page number for the report. For the specified time frame, the *Sunday Times* does not include a front page story on the elections on the 13 April on the front page. Although the study is a qualitative-interpretative study, focusing

on interpretation rather than sample size, to make the sample more representative, the study will include the main election article on page 2 which is also the main headline at the top of the page. It is not an editorial or analysis. As this is a CDA and not a quantitative analysis dealing with the frequency of election articles, the sampling and analysis is not affected. The time frame for the study is cross-sectional, that is, one month - between the periods of 11 April to 04 May, 2014. The sample size is a total sample of 12 copies of all three newspapers.

Therefore these include:

- 4 *Sunday Times*
- 4 *City Press*
- 4 *Mail & Guardian*

The succeeding section focuses on the research process and a detailed explication of the CDA categories in line with Van Dijk (1991) and Fairclough (1989).

3.5 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The method employed for the research process is CDA. The medium is the print edition of the newspaper, that is, the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian*. The selection is the main headline front page election report. The duration of the study is 11 April to the 04 May, 2014 for a cross-sectional period of one month. The total number of Sunday newspapers is twelve and the analysis will be of election news reports only. The analysis first analyses how the elections is represented at the macro-level according to the categories of:

- context
- lexical style
- headlines

At the micro-level the categories include:

- Syntactic Style (Nominalisation; Active and passive voice; Modality)
- Quotations;
- Values (Relational Values)
- Metaphors;
- Sentence Links

3.5.1 Macro Level

■ Context

According to Van Dijk (sa) “context is defined as the mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse”. Concisely, categories include “overall definition of the situation; setting (time and place); and mental representations such as “goals, knowledge, opinions, attitudes and ideologies of participants in “communicative, social and institutional roles” (Van Dijk, sa). The research determines whether the news story takes into account or is influenced by the social and historical context in South Africa, that is, past history and the socio-economic conditions prevalent, to influence how the article is written. This is significant because newspapers “condition the assignments given to reporters, the choice of primary beats, the nature of interviewing, the strategies of ‘checking out’ facts, the credibility and hence the changes, or lack of them, in Press releases, and generally the discursive ‘work’ of journalists” (Van Dijk,1991:42). Within this framework, Van Dijk (1991) argues that elite groups are deemed newsworthy and therefore their opinions will be quoted and treated with respect and credibility. According to Van Dijk (1991:41) “Structures of headlines, leads, thematic organization, the presence of explanatory background information, style, and especially the overall selection of newsworthy topics are thus indirectly controlled by the societal context of power relations”. Hence, the less powerful whose opinions also count, can be disregarded. Van Dijk (1991:47) argues that it is possible to start with context and then text. Van Dijk (1991:47) writes “for instance, we may want to know how specific textual structures, such as headlines in the Press, different categories of story-telling and argumentation, or a specific style or rhetorical device impinge on the reader or listener, as we already suggested above”. “Such cognitive representations and strategies involved in actual discourse processing may themselves be influenced by the social and political contexts of the language users, such as their gender, class, or ethnic group membership, or the nature of the communicative situation (classroom, courtroom, or news-room)” (Van Dijk, 1991:47). Discourse analysis is able to help decode these messages by taking into account the views and previous knowledge of these readers.

All points of view must be noted which include considerations of the background and historical determinations of a story. It is therefore important for this study to examine context as the relationship of these elites with the press undoubtedly influence how contextual information is presented in news reports. This in turn will impact on how truthfully, independently and how

balanced these news reports are. Thus, in order to determine which newspapers were mindful of context when reporting on the elections, the following relevant contextual factors are examined.

- time and place of the event;
- the participants (their roles, opinion, actions within the communication event);
- relevant historical determinations and background information relevant to the event.

■ **Lexical Style**

Lexicalisation involves the adding of words or phrases to express a concept and have independent meaning, that is, subject to the context (vocabulary). “This selection may vary with the text genre as well as with the opinions, the social situation, group membership, or culture of the writer” (Van Dijk, 1991:210). The text genre, that is, the type of written discourse, for example, the hard news, straight front page story is typically expository in that it provides the facts, explains the event, the actions of participants or processes and articulates the main themes without opinion. In doing so, it informs and educates the reader. Furthermore, for a news story to be selected and placed on the front page, it must be newsworthy, interesting and eye-catching so that it attracts the reader’s attention and make people want to buy the newspaper. Van Dijk (1991:210) states, “the factor of social situation is closely tied to the role of text genre in the determination of lexical style”. The election context typically employs the expository style in reporting the facts. But it can also give an account of certain events in the narrative or descriptive style. Thus, this thesis argues that a combination of text genres according to the formality of the event or newspaper style show that there are possible variations in how the story is reported. As this researcher reads these papers, it is argued that the front page news reports combine expository with narrative and descriptive text genres. Accordingly, Van Dijk (1991:53) argues “lexicalization of semantic content, however, is never neutral: the choice of one word rather than another to express more or less the same meaning, or to denote the same referent, may signal the opinions, emotions, or social position of a speaker”. For example in a hypothetical example, protestors in the run up to the elections could be referred to as ‘hooligans’ rather than ‘protestors’ by journalists, highlighting their social opinions, attitudes, or ideologies.

Correspondingly, the broader social and cultural context may influence the perspective of the journalists and influence their choice of words. Therefore, according to Van Dijk (1991:211),

“most of the words used in the Press to describe social reality will thus signal the ‘position’ of the writer that is, journalistic opinion, newspaper discourse genre, social or communicative situation, and group membership and culture”. For example, using a synonym, metonym or antonym in a headline and can create contradictions and can create a negative or positive association with the actor in the discourse such as corrupt or honest, in reference to President Jacob Zuma. Accordingly, the choice of words can reveal what relationship exists between writers and readers or between writers and those they report on. It is vital for this study because the choice of words can alter the essence of the story and convey the opinion of the writer which could affect the independence and balance and possibly truth of a factual news report.

■ **Headlines**

The headline is the most conspicuous part of the news story, that is, the attention grabber, which is typically printed in large bold type at the top of the news story. It articulates the topic of the story and encapsulates the most important information of the report. It is an indication of how the writer or the newspaper interprets the news story and is also suggestive of the newspaper and reporter’s ideology. According to Van Dijk (1991:51) “they summarize what, according to the journalist, is the most important aspect, and such a summary necessarily implies an opinion or a specific perspective on the events”. Consequently, journalists may ‘upgrade’ a less important topic by expressing it in the headline, thereby ‘downgrading’ the importance of the main topic”. Van Dijk “(1991:50) further adds “grammatically, headlines are often incomplete sentences: articles or auxiliary verbs may be deleted” adding “this may sometimes lead to vagueness or ambiguity, which may also have a special ideological function, for instance when the responsibility for an action must be concealed”. A headline can also influence how a news event is defined by the reader. For the reader, according to Van Dijk (1991:50) “they are usually read first and the information expressed in the headline is strategically used by the reader during the process of understanding in order to construct the overall meaning, or the main topics, of the rest of the text before the text itself is even read”. For this study, the analysis of the headline is based on Van Dijk’s approach through lexical style of the words and headline structures for headlines.

Secondly, for headline structures, as in Van Dijk (1991), attention is paid to the relations between words in the headlines pertaining to roles and relationships of the actors and if these are positively, negatively or neutrally portrayed. For example portraying the ANC as the responsible agent of a negative action and the DA as the responsible agent of a positive action

and vice versa. The headline, by incorporating lexical style and headline structures, assists in determining whether the newspapers provide different evaluations of the same story and if the journalist has upgraded a less important election event or downgraded the importance of an significant one which could influence how the reader perceives it.

3.5.2 Micro-level

■ Syntactic Style

Syntax is a major component of grammar and relates to the arrangement of words in a sentence, that is, the way the words are put together. In syntactic style, according to Van Dijk (1991: 216) "... events may be strategically played down by the syntactic structure of the sentence, for example, by referring to the event in a 'lower' (later, less prominent) embedded clause, or conversely by putting it in first position when the event needs extra prominence". In order to explicate further, Fairclough (1989:51) wrote of the British media that "the balance of sources and perspectives and ideology is overwhelmingly in favour of existing power-holders", adding: "the media operate as a means for the expression and reproduction of the power of the dominant class and bloc. And the mediated power of existing power-holders is also a hidden power, because it is implicit in the practices of the media rather than being explicit" This is also indicative of journalistic professional ideology, for instance, when they interview people in official authority who are positioned by the press to promote their dominant ideology. Van Dijk (1991) who speaks of nominal expressions where the role of the power-holders must be "inferred" by the reader. For example, according to Van Dijk (1991:216) "very few reports feature sentences such as "The police shot ..." as a main clause or headline" in reference to highlighting "a negative role of black youths". This dovetails with Fairclough (1989:51) who articulates a discussion on causality and "who is represented as causing what to happen, who is represented as doing what to whom" Fairclough (1989:52) adds "it is a form of hidden power, for the favoured interpretations and wordings are those of the powerholders in our society, though they appear to be just those of the Newspaper". In an election story, the implication is that the media has the power to perpetuate the ideology of their preferred political candidate by reproducing events in the report that expose their readers to their homogenous content consistent with their philosophies. For the syntactic structure, categories of nominalisation, active and passive voice and modality are incorporated below.

a) Nominalisation

According to Fairclough (1989:124) “a nominalization is a process converted into noun (or a multi-word compound noun). It is reduced in the sense that some of the meaning one gets in a sentence is missing - tense, so there is no indication of the timing of the process; modality; and often an agent and/or a patient”. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:83) further explain that “the sentence structure absolves the agent of responsibility by emphasising the effect and disregarding the action and process that caused it”, adding that “another linguistic feature that reduces agency and emphasises the effect is nominalisation whereby a noun stands for the process (e.g. ‘there were many dismissals at the hospital’)”. What this means for this study is that ideologies can be presented where actions can be nominalised without an actor, for example, political events can be nominalised without attention being drawn to a political actor as the agent for the actions. Causality may not be clear or a negative action associated a politician favoured by a writer or newspaper, places the main clause at the end of the sentence to validate an objectionable action. Moreover, actions can be nominalised to create a negative role of one political participant in relation to the other supported by the press. Finally the playing down or placing a prominent position on certain events can be achieved through the syntactic structure where words can be omitted or concealed to accommodate for the journalist’s attitude by for example, swapping verbs for nouns.

To further explicate examples of ideologies, a press espousing the principles of modern liberalism will write in the spirit of equality, civil liberty and a press advocating support for the electorate. This arguably cleaves into the principles of the social responsibility theory where the state provides an environment conducive to development through efforts in education and proper healthcare, for example. As such, the press play a role in educating the electorate of government developments which also corresponds to developmental journalism while an independent press system monitors those developments. Thus, such an ideology can be present in the text by highlighting social or economic issues such as unemployment or education relevant for voting concerns or promoting the policies of the state.

As per Van Dijk (1991:216) “the use of passive sentences (“Mrs Groce was shot by police”) or nominalizations (“the shooting of Mrs Groce”) may be explained by several factors of news discourse structure” adding “the main factor is previous knowledge: when the readers are supposed to already know what happened (for example, through television reporting, as is the case here), the shooting may be presupposed by a nominal expression instead of a full

sentence”. By paying attention to the syntactic structure, it is possible to highlight press bias, perpetuating specific ideologies which could affect how truthfully, balanced and independently the reports are written. This is supported by Fairclough (1989:54) who cites that “a single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth”.

b) Active and passive sentences

The second aspect of syntactic style relevant for this study is the importance of the active and passive voice in emphasising the role of the actor in the news story, either highlighting or undermining his/her importance. Fairclough (1989:124) explains “action processes can appear as active sentences or as passive sentences”. Fairclough (1989) imparts that it is possible to delete the agent phrase for an agentless passive sentence. There are varied meanings such devices can create. As Fairclough (1989:125) argues “agentless passives again leave causality and agency unclear”. This implies that the actor’s actions of causing something to happen is hidden or a smokescreen is created. By ‘hiding’ the actions of the actors, a passive sentence can be created. For example, according to Fairclough (1989:124) “...a black township has been burnt down by South African police”. In this way the paper can report police conduct without ascribing the actions directly to the police, reducing the importance of any actions that point to police misconduct. How truthful and balanced the report then becomes foregrounds the ethical coverage of reporting the news. On the other hand, another implication is that it simply prevents repetition. As Fairclough (1989:125) contends “this may be to avoid redundancy, if that information is already given in some way”.

c) Modality

Modality is associated with the degree of authority contained in an expression or statement. According to Fairclough (1989:126) “modality is to do with speaker or writer authority”. It includes expressive and relational modality. As explains “firstly, if it is a matter of the authority of one participant in relation to others, we have *relational modality*”. In applying relational modality, the paper has the authority to speak for the reader. “Secondly, if it is a matter of the speaker or writer’s authority with respect to the truth or probability of a representation of reality, we have *expressive modality*, i.e. speaker/writer’s evaluation of truth” (Fairclough, 1989:126). Modality includes modal auxiliary verbs such as may, might, must, should, can, can’t shall, would, will or ought. It signposts speculation and shows writer opinion.

In addition to Fairclough's method, the research follows Jorgenson and Phillips (2002) two examples of modality, that is, truth and intonation. For truth, according to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:84) "the speaker commits herself completely to the statement". Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:84) further explain that "modality can also be expressed by intonation (e.g. a hesitant tone can express distance from the statement) or by hedges. "Speakers hedge when they moderate a sentence's claim and thereby express low affinity, for example, by using 'well' or 'a bit' as in 'the medical establishment got it wrong – well, maybe they did a bit' " (Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:84). When applied to media texts, for example hard newspaper articles ought to use objective and not subjective modalities, for example, "by saying 'It is dangerous' instead of 'We think it is dangerous')" (Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:84). Other media texts such as advertisements also employ modality devices but this is beyond the scope of this study. Such devices detract from truth, balance and independence in the article as it can affect the accurate and balanced presentation of the facts, rather reflecting the writer's authority.

▪ **Quotations**

Van Dijk (1991:151) explains that "quotation patterns are a fairly direct function of news production processes, which are essentially a complex form of text processing", adding that "it tries to answer questions such as: Who is speaking, how often and how prominently, and about what are quoted news actors allowed to give their opinions?". Succinctly five news functions of quotations, as expressed in (Van Dijk, 1991) include: opinions of prominent news actors are worthy; it 'liven's' up the narrative structure; it gives credibility to an account and shows that the reporter has access to the relevant news source; it helps with the interpretation of a news event as well as allows for predictions; and permits subjective explanations, interpretations and opinions of the journalist. Furthermore it allows the journalist to be seen as neutral when he/she quotes someone's word rather than present his/her own interpretation by the use of indirect speech. Quotations originate from sources such as eyewitness reports, authorities, politicians and the public.

The study examines quotations which add to the legitimacy of and enliven's the news report. It also enhances truth, credibility, provides all perspectives in a balanced manner and highlights any subjectivity on the part of the journalist which signifies a lack of independence. In addition, the researcher checks whether the quotes are directly reported or paraphrased. This can reveal the prominence of the news actor as such actor's opinions are always newsworthy. It also indicates that the journalist has confidence in the news actor, thus perpetuating writer ideology.

The positioning of the quotation, that is, at the beginning, middle or end of the report, emphasises the importance or inconsequentiality of the story. Quotations placed at the end of the report could indicate such insignificance.

■ **Values (Relational Values)**

Fairclough (1989) distinguishes between three types of values for formal features that may be found in a text, namely experiential, relational, and expressive”. This study concentrates on relational value because it allows for an examination into whether social relationships point to an ideological bias underpinning of the writer.

Fairclough (1989:112) explains “...relational value is (transparently) to do with relations and social relationships.” In determining relational values in words, Fairclough (1989:116) imparts “a text's choice of wordings depends on, and helps create, social relationships between participants”. Relational values is linked to the level of formality of the text. According to Fairclough (1989:117):

The formality of the situation here demands formality of social relations, and this is evident (among other places) in the vocabulary, which consistently opts for more formal choices as against less formal available alternatives (prior to, luncheon recess, stated instead of before, lunch break, said, for example), expressing politeness, concern from participants for each other's 'face' (wish to be liked, wish not to be imposed upon), respect for status and position.

In addition, relational values can be located in the grammatical features of a text and include, according to Fairclough (1989) modes of sentence (declarative, grammatical question and imperative), modality (relational and expressive), and pronouns (we and you). This research concentrates on pronouns. According to Fairclough (1989:126) “for pronouns Fairclough (1989) asks “are the pronouns we and you used, and if so, how?” Fairclough believes that pronouns can have relational value. For example if analysed articles address readers in the inclusive “we” while reporting on an election event, it speaks for the writer, the newspaper and the reader, highlighting an ideological underpinning of ‘us versus them’. As Fairclough (1989:128) imparts “in so doing, it is making an implicit authority claim rather like the examples of relational modality above - that it has the authority to speak for others”.

■ **Metaphors**

Metaphors are a form of “representing one aspect of experience in terms of another, and is by no means restricted to the sort of discourse it tends to be stereotypically associated with... it is the relations between alternative metaphors which have different ideological attachments”

(Fairclough, 1989:119). According to Van Dijk (1991:221) “events and people are described by words that are literally inappropriate in that situation, but which focus on a specific dimension of these events, or people, such as their “warlike” nature”. Van Dijk (1991:221) includes examples of “traditional lexical metaphors” used such as describing “demonstrators as guerrillas and “riots as a “war” by the press. Newspapers use metaphors to liven and enrich the texts and so rouse certain sentiments in readers to create impact. They are used by newspapers to make the news stories more conspicuous, thereby gaining the attention of the reader. Fairclough (1989:221) indicates “...events and people are described by words that are literally inappropriate in that situation, but which focus on a specific dimension of these events, or people, such as their “warlike” nature”.

■ **Sentence Links**

It includes logical connectors within a text as well as complex sentences to highlight any underlying implications. Using links such as ‘even though’ or ‘as a result’ within specific contexts, according to Fairclough (1989:131) “show that causal or consequential relationships between things which are taken to be commonsensical may be ideological common sense assumptions”.

Subsequently, according to Fairclough (1989:131) “‘complex’ sentences combine simple sentences together in various ways”, adding that “a distinction is commonly made between coordination, where the component simple sentences have equal weight, and subordination, where there is a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses - clause is used for a simple sentence operating as part of a complex one”. It is generally the case that the main clause is more informationally prominent than subordinate clauses, with the content of subordinate clauses backgrounded (Fairclough, 1989:132). Logical connectors and complex sentences are analysed and in accordance with Fairclough (1989:132), whether the text is divided into relatively ‘prominent and backgrounded’ or relatively ‘important and unimportant’ parts that affect balance and independence.

3.6 ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLE NEWSPAPERS

The sample newspapers refer to the items, that is, the three newspapers taken from the larger population of the twenty three national newspapers in circulation. The structure of the analysis is detailed below. Firstly, each news report is summarised under the title ‘analysis of article’ which provides an overall summary including the date, type of article and the journalist’s name. Next, each of the twelve reports are analysed individually according to the CDA categories.

This is followed by the application of the theoretical framework to determine whether the social responsibility or the libertarian model was applied in the reporting, underpinned by the argument of the study that ethics is upheld for the elections by both roles functioning simultaneously in South Africa. This is explicated below in Section 3.6.1. Finally, the proposed model is integrated with the social responsibility and libertarian paradigms. An addendum is incorporated with the scanned news items for verification.

3.6.1 Application of the combined Social Responsibility and Libertarian Models

The theoretical framework will be utilised in the analysis to provide a foundation for ethical election coverage as well as serve as a form of triangulation. It is challenging to point out direct references to the aforementioned theories and related themes such as ‘independent press’ or ‘nation building’ in the reports. Therefore, CDA is beneficial for this proposed framework because it can determine if such themes are embedded in the texts and indicate an inclination toward a particular model. The micro level (grammatical meaning) and macro level (semantic meaning) analysis link elements such as expressions, headings and sentence sequence in the text. The study aims to bring such intent to the forefront. Thus, the thesis locates the following general principles as advanced in both theories:

- Libertarianism: independent, watchdog, freedom of the press, transparency, restrictions, ethically-oriented
- Social responsibility: public interest, state interest, nation-building, responsible journalism, obligations to society, ethically-oriented

The current study combines the principles of both models for the elections to realise ethical election reporting. Table 2 presents the combined principles of both models that can be applied to the elections. It is based on the review of the aforesaid theories in Chapter 2 Section 2.5.

Table 2: Combined principles of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian Theories

Libertarian Principles	Social Responsibility Principles	Combining Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories for the elections
1. Independence	1. Nation-building	1. Independent election reporting incorporating nation-building (social responsibility)
2. Watchdog	2. Responsible journalism	2. Responsible ethical watchdog journalism over state and politicians
3. Freedom of the press	3. Public interest	3. Free press in the public interest
4. Fourth Estate	4. Obligations to society: state interest	4. Obligation to society: Both state and public interest for transparent and sufficient election information
5. Ethically-oriented	5. Ethically-oriented	6. Truth, balance, independence and so, ethically-oriented election reporting

The above categories of CDA aims to locate such terms in the news reports. The purpose is therefore to read the reports and look for the key terms and the style and tone of writing to determine an application of either or both models.

3.6.2 The Proposed Model: Developmental Journalism Model

The proposed model challenges the traditional normative frameworks of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian paradigms to demonstrate that, in terms of ethical election reporting, being socially responsible and integrating libertarianism ought to incorporate developmental goals as well in order to benefit all of society. Thus, this model will seek to find cases of autonomous election reporting; the responsible distribution of information that is truthful, balanced and independent; being critical of developmental state goals; and fulfilling obligations to the state by fairly highlighting developmental aspects consistent with public interest. It is expected that by combining both models and also incorporating the proposed developmental model, an ethically-oriented approach to press reportage can be highlighted.

In summation, this study argues that the adopted CDA criteria will sufficiently address truth, balance and independence to determine ethical or unethical election reporting in the interest of all of society, using the above structure. The work of this thesis is mindful that this analysis is not a reflection of what society thinks or that journalists are wholly unethical. Rather, the CDA primarily aims to understand and analyse how journalists construct the arguments on elections and whether this has upheld ethical or led to unethical news reporting, which have an impact on the reader, electorate and wider society.

3.6.3 Validity

Validity denotes that the findings of the study truthfully and accurately reflect what they claim to be about. The research has also taken into account the element of truth value. It recognises that multiple realities exist within different contexts for the press and that there is no single way of addressing analyses of newspapers so the findings must accurately reflect the transcripts and must be valid for this study. The research has been planned so that it can address ethics which is feasible through CDA for the elections. The application of the CDA categories is in accordance with and systematically applies the framework of Fairclough (1989) and Van Dijk (1991) for CDA.

The analysis systematically reverts to Fairclough (1989) and Van Dijk (1999) to examine the reports and verify findings. Truth, balance and independence are valid measurements of ethics where the concept is recognised within the Press Code and operationalized accordingly. The ethical dimensions of this study are validated by Black et al., (1995) and Stroud and Reese (sa) which are explicated in Chapters 1 and 4. The researcher's personal viewpoints are not included in this study and it will clearly and accurately as possible, presents the findings of the analysis without manipulation. The research aims to verify the evaluations of the reports and reach even-handed conclusions.

There is awareness that this analysis will be met with a degree of disagreement because it is possible that another researcher or reader might disagree with the choice of categories and, for example, the subsequent choice of a verb or noun to signpost an ideological viewpoint. It is also possible that another reader or coder might select different categories and realise a dissimilar interpretation. Notwithstanding these preconceptions, the CDA categories and the observations in this analysis have drawn from the actual language in the reports, consistent with Fairclough (1989) and Van Dijk (1991). It therefore allows for replication where another

analysis of the same criteria allows the researcher to provide his/her arguments for another interpretation. The selection of CDA categories made in this thesis conforms closely to the accepted views by other researchers such as Ghannam (2011) who sought to interpret differences in language in Lebanese newspapers to determine journalistic ideology by also using the accepted categories of Fairclough. According to Ghannam (2011) “this study has shown that language can indicate underlying ideologies by reporting and reshaping the articles in different ways”, adding “Fairclough’s approach to critical discourse analysis has been useful in the analysis of the articles to define the relationship between language use and ideologies. This corresponds to this research that employs the techniques of Fairclough (1989) in determining the implications of ideology on ethical reporting. Further use of peer debriefing and the use of independent coders is explicated in Section 3.6.4 on Reliability.

Furthermore, the study has internal validity in that the research design has accounted for all factors that affect the answering of the research questions and addresses the main research problem. For external validity: “the external question of whether or not the results will remain truthful when subsequently applied to people, situations, or objects outside the original investigation. (idiographic motive) rather than to generalize to some theoretical population” (Babbi & Mouton, 2011:270). The study cannot generalise to a conjectural population outside the study as the sample is just three newspapers of the 23 weeklies. Rather it is a truthful and reliable to the accessible population. The results cannot be applied to all newspapers or the general press because what is true for this particular sample may not be valid and true for all the weekly newspapers or reflective of the press in general as newspapers differ in their writing styles and political ideologies.

3.6.4 Reliability

To achieve reliability, consistency and neutrality is applied. Firstly, the consistency of the CDA process provided by Van Dijk and Fairclough allow for an accurate analysis of the newspapers and allow for the answering of the research questions and addressing of the problem statement. As the research is led by the CDA categories and not the personal opinion of the researcher, the findings are not influenced by bias researcher. The decisions of the researcher are clearly and transparently presented, consistently substantiated and directed by the findings. The methodology is designed so that comparable findings can be arrived at by an independent researcher. There will be ongoing and consistent inspection of the analysis and a firm resolve to maintain high accuracy in the capturing and reporting of the results to eliminate

bias and remain ethical during the research process at all times. As such, the researcher is able to support the claim for reliability.

The researcher aims for truth value, consistency and applicability related to generasibility to address neutrality – addressed above. For applicability, the findings cannot be generalised to other settings, national newspapers or contexts as the sample is just three newspapers of the twenty-three weeklies. The researcher's philosophical position and perspective is not included in the study as the aim is to determine ethical or unethical press coverage for neutral reports. It is not based on the researcher's viewpoint

To test for reliability, the researcher has used alternate forms of reviewing the same instrument for the text by employing the test retest method, field notes and peer debriefing. For peer review or debriefing, Babbi and Mouton (2011:277) explain “this is done with a similar status colleague (not with a junior or senior peer) who is outside the context of the study, who has a general understanding of the nature of the study, and with whom you can review perceptions, insights, and analyses”. The researcher has engaged an independent colleague who assisted in examining the research, coded the newspapers independently using the same categories. It was then compared with the original research findings to verify how congruent or dissimilar they were. Thirdly, field notes include observations during the CDA which has been recorded with the aim of understanding, contradicting and improving the ideas purported in the research. These recorded notes were continually referenced to conduct a proper analysis.

3.7 FEASIBILITY OF THE STUDY

The findings can be applied in practice by contributing to research into the press as well as contributions to information needs in the Communication field. The research is relevant to the South African press context, given the constant diatribe by government and subsequent campaigns to regulate it. The main research problem, sampling procedure and research method through CDA are helpful and practical for realising ethical conduct of the press. Since all three newspapers for the duration of the study have already been acquired, constant access to the articles is guaranteed. Ethical considerations regarding CDA will be upheld.

3.8 ELIMINATION OF BIAS

This researcher is aware of the criticisms of the CDA methodology such as concerns over representativeness because the small sample may lead to researcher bias. However, the thesis contends that CDA is useful for addressing the abstract concept of ethics and can be examined

through a systematic language analysis. The methodology is guided by the independent CDA methods of Van Dijk (1991) and Fairclough (1989). These stringent criteria ensure that the researcher's predispositions will not impact on the impartiality of the study. It begins with the analysis and is discussed against the socio-political context in South Africa. The methodology including the newspaper collection method is described in detail and the analysis is backed by theory and triangulation. The findings presented are entirely based on the outcome of the CDA results. Peer briefing was conducted and the availability of the reports in the addendum ensure verification for auditing. As highlighted in Section 3.6.3, the trustworthiness of the findings can be evaluated by replication. In this manner, the researcher ensures ethical considerations.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research methodology relevant for realising the goals of this study by drawing on the appropriate and relevant application of the underlying principles and practices for research methodology and the subsequent research instrument of CDA. It has been established that CDA addresses media problems and is ultimately an appropriate methodology for the goals of this study. The actual analysis using the categories of CDA will be analysed in the following Chapter 4. Having discussed the overall research methodology, Chapter 4 presents the analysis, research findings and interpretation of the results.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 4 contains the analysis of the articles (data analysis) as outlined in Chapter 3. The framework for the analysis has been developed in Chapters 2 and 3. The following chapter presents the application of the CDA analysis to the newspapers. It then correlates the CDA with the ethical elements of truth, balance and independence. This is followed by an overall ethical assessment for each newspaper individually using the checklist provided by Black et al., (1995) and Stroud and Reese (sa) in Chapter One.

4.2. CDA ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED TWELVE ARTICLES (*CITY PRESS*, *SUNDAY TIMES* AND *THE MAIL & GUARDIAN*)

4.2.1 Analysis of the *City Press* (13 April to 4 May 2014)

4.2.1.1 Article 1: 13/04/14

Presentation of the Article

Headline: “Staff lash SABC for taking sides”

Sub heading: - “Crowds attending opposition election rallies ignored”

- “Broadcaster bans DA ad, claiming it will incite violence”

- “EFF manifesto launch was denied live coverage”

Reporter: Rapule Tabane (The report does not indicate if this is a staff reporter or commentator)

Type of article and layout: this article is the main front page headline story found above the fold and continues to page 2. It is the only story above the fold. There is only one other article on the front page, placed below the fold and which does not pertain to the elections. The headline uses bold black uppercase and approximately 48 points in font size. A small circular image in the centre of the report of SABC board Chairperson Ellen Tshabalala informs the article. The weightier information such as the headline and sub-headings occupy a substantial proportion of the front page. The sub-headings are bulleted points that provide the gist of the story.

Summary: The article outlines claims by SABC news executives of orders and intimidation by the broadcaster concerning the broadcast of the footage of opposition parties’ election rallies. The most important examples by three senior SABC executives of political interference are cited in the article. These include parties who do not have representation in Parliament and

are thus not entitled to live coverage of their manifestos such as the EFF; staff in regional offices being told to disregard election coverage in daily editorial meetings; instructions by chief operations officer Hlaudi Motsoeneng to news staff not to cover “violent” service delivery protests; and SABC board chairperson Ellen Tsabalalba warning to news staff that their cellphones are being monitored as they work for a national key point.

CDA Categories

Macro-level Analysis

Context

This is an election related report published a month prior to elections. The main participants include the SABC senior news executives, SABC board chairperson - Ellen Tsabalalba, chief operations officer- Hlaudi Motsoeneng, senior managers in regional SABC offices, SABC spokesperson - Kaizer Kganyago and head of news - Jimi Matthews. Parties constituting the opposition are accessed as sources and their actions are clarified to fully inform the reader. Background information includes Zuma’s Nkandla residence (Paragraph 5), contained in the DA’s appeal to Icasa regarding SABC banning its campaign. It reads:

Zuma is corrupt and taking us backwards”. “This follows the Public Protector’s finding that Zuma and his family improperly benefitted from the more than R200 million the state spent on his home in Nkandla.

The significance of the writer informing on the SABC’s actions firstly validates the claim made by the staff with regards to being strong-armed in order to deny opposition parties coverage. Secondly, reference to Nkandla provides context and informs the reader of the intention behind the DA ad campaign. Further, background information provided on the 2009 elections and COPE’s (Congress of the People) manifesto launch which was well covered irrespective of parliamentary representation (Paragraph 12), accentuates the disparities in the standards of the SABC regarding election coverage. It rationalise claims by the staff and shows bias on the part of the SABC.

Headlines

It is a single sentence that signposts a prejudicial SABC, but does not specify whose side is being taken. “Taking sides” in inverted commas, places emphasis on SABC bias by the writer. The sub-heading includes bulleted information in red that supplements the headline. It is eye-catching and summarises the important themes of the story for the reader. It has information value, as it addresses the reasons behind the staff lashing the SABC. Thus, overall meaning and the main themes are constructed by the headlines prior to the report being read. “Lash”

and “taking sides” are evocative and have a negative connotation, so the reader straightaway surmises an adverse action by the SABC.

Lexical Style

The lead sentence summarises the fundamental details of senior SABC news executives being ordered not to broadcast footage of crowds attending opposition parties. It is a clear, concise and informative. The specifics of the orders are bulleted in red, providing information clearly by the writer, making it easier for the reader to skim through the main points of the article. Briefly, one of the reasons include, “a controversial new instruction, issued earlier this year that new parties that do not have representation in Parliament are not entitled to live coverage of their manifest launches”.

The article quotes the views of the editorial staff as well as the SABC board, offering both parties a platform to respond to allegations. No direct journalistic opinion is voiced. Modal auxiliary verbs in the syntax in Paragraphs 1-13 do however point to implicit writer opinion which negatively portrays the SABC. This is explained below in CDA category modality. Although paraphrased sections are not substantiated by direct quotes from paragraphs 1 to 13, paragraphs 13 to 25 quote the relevant sources. The positioning by the writer of the quotes at the end of the report seems to put forward inconsequentiality to the SABC board perspective in this story. From reading the first thirteen paragraphs, the reader can already form a predisposed opinion of the SABC bosses, which is not positive.

Micro-Level Analysis:

Nominalisation

Paraphrasing Van Dijk (1991:216), nominal expression is used as an alternative to a full sentence when previous knowledge is a factor and when the readers should know what happened. In this case, Paragraph 3 highlighting that “parties like the Economic Freedom Fighters were denied live coverage”, does not indicate directly that the action is carried out by the SABC. The nominalisation process is based on previous information in the article that makes it apparent that it was the SABC that denied the coverage so there isn’t a need to ascribe the action to the broadcaster again. Another nominalisation process is evident in Paragraph 10: “but this rule did not apply to the ANC”. The agent (the SABC), is not named as the responsible party granting full coverage to the ANC, yet the effect is emphasised, that is, the rule not applying to the ANC. It this, reduces agency.

Active and Passive Voice

The article expresses the opinion of the writer on the SABC through the use of the verbs “spoke on condition of anonymity for fear of losing their jobs”; “fight back” (Paragraph 7); “extracted an undertaking” (Paragraph 8); and “adopted’ an extensive resolution” (Paragraph 20). It indicates an active voice of the writer predisposed towards the SABC and shows that the board is orchestrating unfair broadcasting practices. Further, Paragraph 10 which indicates “but this rule did not apply to the ANC”, although nominalised, signposts the active voice of the writer and a negative inference to the SABC. Although there is sufficient factual information to justify the actions of the SABC editorial staff in taking a stand against the SABC, there is a signal that the writer’s tone underscores the SABC board as erroneous.

Modality

The article indicates expressive modality, that is, writer authority in terms of depicting events according to the journalist’s understanding, - even though the article articulates the authority of one actor (SABC management) in relation to another (SABC staff). Modal auxiliary verbs include: “‘should’ no longer cover “violent” service delivery (Paragraph 4); “‘would’ act in accordance with the public broadcaster’s mandate” (Paragraph 8); “crowds at opposition rallies ‘should’ not be aired” (Paragraph 10); and only parties with 1% representation in Parliament ‘would’ enjoy coverage’ (Paragraph 13). These are the writer’s perspective where paraphrased sections are not substantiated by direct quotes from Paragraphs 1 to 13. It is evident that the professional ideology of the writer is manifest in these verbs suggesting that the writer perceives the actions as negative and prejudicial.

Relational Values

The relational value indicates grammatical question as the writer is requesting information from the actors who are in a position to provide it regarding the issue of intimidation at the SABC. A level of formality pervades the text by referencing all actors by their titles, first by referencing Zuma as President and Ellen Tsabalalba as SABC Board Chairperson in uppercase. This reflects formality of the social context and recognition of their status and position. There is no use of pronouns to indicate writer authority over readers.

Quotations

It quotes both the editorial staff and the SABC spokesperson Kaizer Kganyago. For SABC staff: “three senior SABC news executives, who spoke on condition of anonymity for fear of losing their jobs, told City Press of other examples of what they claim is extensive political

interference” (Paragraph 4). For the SABC: “there is no truth in the fact that opposition parties crowds are not shown. This is just trying to find fault with the SABC” (Paragraph 17). It vividly shows that the writer has accessed all relevant sources. Also, the positioning of the quotes where sources are quoted in the latter part of the reports (Paragraphs 14 to 25) is significant as it highlights that the importance given to the sources by the writer is negligible since the gist of the story has already been established in the first half of the article.

Metaphors

The synonym ‘Lash’ in the headline is emblematic of striking back at the SABC. It implies a forceful direct reaction by the staff likened to ‘standing-up’ and challenging the broadcaster. Broadcaster and public broadcaster are also used as synonyms for the SABC.

Sentence Links

Sentence links as a form of CDA is not used to show a direct ideological opinion of the writer.

4.2.1.1.1 Overall tonality of Article 1

The report is a truthful account of events, verifiable through direct quotes, contextual information and provable statistical data. It fosters balance - both parties are given the space to respond to the allegations, verified by direct quotes. However, it was not independent. The CDA, through the headline, modal auxiliary verbs, nominalisation, active voice of the writer and quotes, pointed to the implicit writer opinion. Suggesting that the ‘rule not applying to the ANC by the SABC’ leads the reader to presume nepotism towards the ANC, as the writer hints at an inherent bias towards the SABC. The tonality shows partiality towards SABC staff and an underlying hostility attached toward the SABC.

4.2.1.2 Article 2 (20/04/14)

Presentation of the Article

Headline: “DA flirts with Eff”

Sub heading: “A coalition is one way to go to challenge the ANC if it gets less than 50%”

Reporter: Matyna Lamprecht, Sabelo Ndlangisa and Carien Du Plessis (the report does not indicate if this is a staff reporter or commentator)

Type of article: The aforementioned hard news report placed on the front page above the fold is the only report on the front page, continuing to page 2. It occupies the majority of the space in the newspaper. It is in bold uppercase and approximately 48 points in font size. Moreover,

it contains two small colour photos of Zuma (above) and Zille (below) with a larger photo of Zille on page 2. ‘Coalition’ in the sub-header is in red and the polls are indicated in bold green.

Summary: This article summarises the possibility of a coalition government between the EFF and the DA where informal discussions between the DA’s Musi Maimane and the leaders of the EFF and the ANC are discernible. The EFF position is that any negotiations are informal while the ANC has argued that no coalition government is on the cards.

CDA Categories

Macro-Level Analysis:

Context

This is an election related report just prior to the 2014 elections. The main actors include Musi Maimane and Hellen Zille (DA), Dali Mpofu and Floyd Shivambu (EFF) and ANC Gauteng secretary David Makhura. These participants are quoted either directly or indirectly – their actions are articulated such as the EFF and DA attending events together. This in turn validates the theme of a possible coalition for the reader. There is no past information in this report.

Headlines

It is a single sentence. ‘Flirt’ is a suggestive euphemism, indicating a liaison between two opposing parties in the election. More detail is provided in the sub-heading “a coalition is one way to go to challenge the ANC if it gets less than 50%” (Page 1). “Coalition” highlighted in red is striking and suggests the possibility of a ‘challenge’ to the ANC. Below, in large bold green are the numbers 48% and 37%. Under the number is a red bullet indicating “what the ANC may win, according to its internal poll” and 37% with a red bullet “what the DA may win according to its internal polls”. The second sub-heading on Page 2 offers more detail by showing the EFF’s position relative to other opposition parties. “Gears up to talk” is in striking red font.

The main points of the story are succinctly summed up in the headline and the subheading. The use of statistics and colour fonts attract while simultaneously informing the reader. The subheading (Page 1) propagates the idea that a coalition is a means to challenge the ANC. Although it signals writer position, in the election context, it offers a perspective for readers to contemplate, given that the ANC is the main contender and that a coalition could weaken the dominant ANC.

Lexical Style

The writer, the readers and the broader public take into account the socio-political context. The lead sentence is concise yet clear, summarising the main points of the story. The verb ‘flirts’ is used as a synonym to describe the DA and EFF liaison. Being a hard news report, the facts are quoted directly throughout the report and paraphrased with quotes, for example, “according to a senior member of the federal council, any coalition agreement would be made under strict conditions and “in the best interest of DA voters in Gauteng” (Paragraph 14). Information is linked to the sister publication, *Rapport* through bulleted information to back-up the statements made by the writer (Paragraph 14). It provides opinions of all relevant parties - both positive and negative – on the theme of a coalition.

Micro-Level Analysis:

Nominalisation

A nominalisation process is not evident in this article. Actions are ascribed directly to the actors. Therefore, agency and causality are clear. Where sources from a party request anonymity, the party in question is specified so the reader knows where the opposing opinions come from, for example, “however, an EFF national leader, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said whatever negotiations were under way at the moment were informal” (Paragraph 19).

Active and Passive Voice

An active voice is used in relation to the actors – the agents are known. The opinions of the agents which include the DA, EFF and the ANC are stated directly. It is written in the present context and uses physical and mental verbs relative to the actor, for example, the actor ‘said’ or parties ‘feel’ (Paragraph 15) respectively. Active writer voice is evident in Paragraph 3: “a coalition government in South Africa’s economic heartland will be necessary if the ANC garners less than 50% support in the May 7 elections”. This comment signposts writer opinion, implying that a partnership is the appropriate course of action. Even though a negative opinion on the ANC is not overt, the wording implicitly advocates the writer’s ideology, associating with ideas of uniting other political parties to contend in the elections against the dominant ANC.

Modality

For Fairclough (1989), expressive modality is apparent with regard to the probability of a representation of reality. This is expressed in Paragraph 3: “a coalition government...will be

necessary...”. In other words ‘will be necessary’ suggests a necessity, according to the writer. This paragraph also includes the modal auxiliary verb ‘will’ in relation to a coalition. It expresses what is needed in the political context. The use of “flirts” and a “coalition on the way” respectively denotes that what the writer contemplates, will happen.

Relational Values

There is a level of formality in the text by addressing all actors by their relevant titles and there is no use of pronouns to indicate that the writer is speaking for the voters.

Quotations

Quotations from all parties including the DA, EFF and the ANC, are provided. For example, in Paragraph 16 the EFF states “if we have to adopt coalitions, then we’ll have to cross that bridge at that time”. The ANC position is included in Paragraph 25: “David Makhura, Gauteng ANC secretary and premier candidate, said a coalition government was not on the cards”. The DA state in Paragraph 7 “the party would consider coalitions, but only under “very clear conditions”. The citing of all significant sources provides a balanced article. Quotes are included in the start, middle and end of the article. Paraphrasing is evident, for example in Paragraphs 9, 16 and 17 but they are followed by direct quotes that support the statements.

Metaphors

‘Strange bedfellows’ is idiomatic, standing for an unusual political alliance. It is significant in that in the election context in South Africa, the DA and the EFF are contending parties and the possibility of forming a partnership is uncharacteristic.

Sentence Links

There are no sentence links by Fairclough (1989) that can be applied for this election context to indicate a causal relationship and the writer advancing an underlying assumption.

4.2.1.2.1 Overall tonality of Article 2

This was one of four reports that the CDA assessment found to have an overall neutral tone. It incorporated direct quotes from sources and included sources’ quotes in paraphrased sections. It upheld truth by reporting in the present context, educated and informed the reader, was balanced by providing the standpoints of both the opposing parties and was independent with no personal opinion of the writer.

4.2.1.3 Article 3 (27/04/14)

Presentation of the Article

Main Headline: “Elections 2014: The Final Push”

Main Sub heading: “As May 7 draws near, political campaigning intensifies”

Article1 Sub-heading: “Zuma turns Nkandla around”

Article2 Sub-heading: “Zille warns against complacency”

Article3 Sub-heading: “Juju makes a statement in KZN”

Reporter: Paddy Harper, Sabelo Ndlangisa and Carien Du Plessis (The report does not indicate if these are staff reporters or commentators)

Type of article and layout: this report is divided into three sub-stories. The title and three images are on the front page with the articles placed on pages 6 and 7. The title is situated below the fold on the front page. There are four other front page reports but this is the only one concerned with the elections. The article consists of a main headline and sub-heading. The headline is in bold font in uppercase and approximately 8 points. There are three coloured photos horizontally placed in succession of the three main parties contending, that is, President Zuma (ANC), Helen Zille (DA) and Julius Malema (EFF) respectively. The photos correspond to the order of the articles on pages 6 and 7 and highlight the election campaigning of the three main parties. On pages 6 and 7 are separate sub-headlines and another three coloured photos of the ANC, DA and the EFF that accompany each article.

Summary: The three sub-articles are on the ANC, the DA and the EFF respectively, that is, the top 3 political parties. In article 3(1) Zuma addresses supporters in Langelooop in Mpumalanga where he speaks of the issue of Nkandla. Article 3 (2) details the DA’s last big rally in the Western Cape that includes 7000 mostly coloured supporters from the Cape Flats. Article 3 (3) summarises Julius Malema’s visit to KZN as part of his campaign trail and that he addresses supporters at the University of KwaZulu Natal and Durban University of Technology, touching upon the issue of Nkandla and the national student loan system.

CDA Categories

Macro-Level Analysis:

Context

The physical settings include Zuma’s visit to Nkomazi in Mpumalanga; the Cape Flats in Cape Town where Zille campaigned; and Malema’s visit to Kwa-Zulu Natal. The main actors include Zuma, Zille and Malema. Their campaigning is highlighted through the use of quotes

and background information which informs that this is the culmination of the campaigns. Relevant past history in Article 3(1) in Paragraph 2 point to the Public Protector's report on the R248 million Nkandla upgrade. It draws parallels with Zuma's 2009 campaign and the 85, 8% that the ANC took in Mpumalanga then, as indicated in Paragraph 10: "granted, the rally was a home fixture – the ANC took 85.8% in Mpumalanga in 2009 and 78, 9% in 2011 and was taking 90% and above during this visit". Article 3 (2) refers to Zille's 2009 campaign and just over 50% that she took then, in Paragraph 4. Malema also briefly touches upon Nkandla in paragraph 10 in Article 3 (1).

Headlines

The main headline is bold and the specifics contain details of the last days prior to elections. 'Final push' emblematically implies the last lunge in campaigning. The sub-heading in a single sentence containing the verb "intensifies" is informative. It conveys the intensified actions of politicians to the reader and that the campaigning efforts of the parties have amplified.

The sub-heading for Article 3 (1) on page 6 references Zuma's homestead Nkandla. 'Turning it around' appears to suggest that he has created a positive spin on Nkandla and portrays Zuma in good light. But, the macro-level criteria of context also has the capacity to create a negative association for the reader in light of the scandal of the over R200 million spent on the upgrade. The sub-heading in Article 3 (2) includes Zille verbalising "not to become smug or self-righteous" by the use of the noun "complacency" which is directed at political parties and thus upgrades a straight election story. The sub-heading in Article 3 (3) has a literal meaning in that Malema has literally made a statement. However, an implied meaning suggests that he has 'made a statement' and impacted voters, arousing the reader's interest.

Lexical style

All the three articles answer the five Ws: who (Jacob Zuma, Helen Zille and Julius Malema); what (the election campaign); when (the last week before the May 7 elections); where (Mpumalanga, Cape Town and KZN respectively); and why (to campaign for votes). The style of writing is evocative in Article 3(1) where the lead sentence gives the gist of the story, that is, the Nkandla scandal is finally being addressed by the president. It paints a bleak picture of Zuma but proceeds to elevate his image descriptively, likening him to a Pitbull. Quotations are used to highlight Zuma's standpoint, for example, "they talk about Nkandla as if Nkandla will win them the elections. All they say is Nkandla, Nkandla, Nkandla, Nkandla, Zuma said' (Paragraph 7). The use of the adjective "messianic" in Paragraph 2: "...messianic figure he

cut during the 2009 and 2011 campaigns...”, likens him to a divine figure who can bring about change. It is then juxtaposed with the 2014 campaign where the adjectives “tired”, “embittered” and “hollow” describe the weary and empty figure he now embodies. Pitbull in Paragraph 3 - often depicted in the media as a strong, aggressive dog - is symbolic for a formidable opponent. The overall tonality is emotive and metaphors and adjectives show writer bias toward Zuma. The style of writing calls for Zuma’s opinions to be disseminated. It makes known the positive support from the crowds for him (Paragraph 7) and presents him more positively to the reader. The writer also negatively frames the actions of the opposition (Paragraph 6). This is explicated in CDA category nominalisation.

In article 3 (2), the writing style positively portrays Zille’s actions by pointing out that she engaged in door-to-door campaigning which is a positive act of electioneering where the electorate can actively engage with the politician. Paragraph 12 indicates “A resident who attended her impromptu rally at one of the many pink municipal flats in Roodewal in Worcester said Zille had a good reception not because of the cupcakes and DA T-shirts that were handed out but because she visited communities even outside election times”.

In Article 3 (3), the lead sentence conveys the gist story, that is, Malema’s campaign was not very successful and he failed to win new supporters. Evocative adjectives such as “lacklustre” and “disorganised” described his campaign in KZN and that he “failed” to win the EFF any new supporters. It was reported that he took “jibes” at Zuma which conveys writer estimation. Journalistic opinion was also noted in Paragraph 8: “the applause he got from his supporters and sympathisers “emboldened” him to “take pot shots” at Zuma, even though some of his jibes seemed to make some of the students uncomfortable”. The noun ‘pot shots’ negatively represents Malema which insinuates that he hurled an opportunistic attack on Zuma. The tone creates an overall negative and bleak picture of his campaign and proposes that it was uninspiring.

Micro-Level Analysis

Nominalisation

In all three articles, actions are directly attributed to the agent. A nominalisation process is evident in Article 3 (1) in Paragraph 6 where the writer criticises the opposition for their views of the Nkandla scandal as follows: “people who talk a lot” had cynically and deliberately jumped the gun in a calculated deflection, accusing him of corruption before the Special Investigation Unit had wrapped up its work to cover up for the thinness of the manifestos and

policy packages”. The use of “the thinness of the manifestos and policy packages” is not directly attributed to a particular opposition party but attacks all parties. The statement is generalised and points to the writer promoting an ANC ideology in support of Zuma. The writer estimation is not supported by verifiable information to prove that the opposition parties have ulterior motives in criticising Zuma. However, agency is clear in the balance of the article, and the sentence structure links the actions of Zuma through verbs such as ‘getting stuck’ into the opposition (Paragraph 3) and ‘tore’ into the opposition (Paragraph 5). In article 3 (2) there is no nominalisation process to downplay the actions of the actors and reduce agency. Zille’s actions are reported directly through verbs such as Zille ‘reminded’ the audience that the DA’s majority in the province was small (Paragraph 3). In article 3 (3) actions are directly linked to Malema with verbs such as ‘take’ pot shots at Zuma (Paragraph 8) and he ‘avoided’ mocking the man (Paragraph 12).

Active and Passive Voice

Active voice is utilised in all three articles through active sentences. There is no obfuscation of the agent’s actions or causality. For example “complacency breeds defeat, DA leader Helen Zille reminded a crowd of largely coloured supporters in Cape Town as she urged them to go out and vote on May 7” Paragraph 1) in Article 3 (2), or for example, Zuma ...”tore into the opposition parties – without dignifying any by naming them – for using Nkandla as a campaign tool” (Paragraph 5) in Article 3 (1), where causality is clear here.

Article 3 (1) Paragraph 6 directly attacks the opposition where “deliberately jumped the gun”, “calculated deflection”, “cover up” and “thinness of the manifestos and policy packages” are negative actions attributed to the overall opposition. It states Zuma is condemned before investigation on Nkandla has concluded. Biased writer support for him is clear by explicit mention of the accusations of the opposition covering up their weak manifestos.

Modality

The analysis finds both an element of relational and expressive modality. Relational modality is expressed in the writing and consequently, the authority of one participant in relation to the other. This is suggestive in articles 3 (2 and 3) where Party leaders Zille and Malema respectively, ‘direct’ supporters. Firstly, Zille ‘leads’ the crowds by telling them ‘...we need every single DA supporter to come out and vote to keep the Cape blue’ (Paragraph 5); and Malema told supporters ‘...that their lot will be improved by the advent of economic freedom’ (last paragraph) – hence relational modality.

Expressive modality and the writer's evaluation of the truth is evident in Article 3(1) Paragraph 6, which expresses an aggressive negative writer opinion on the opposition for criticising Zuma to attacking "cover up for the thinness of the manifestos and policy packages". There is no reference to a source being quoted so writer opinion is clear. "Cynically", "deliberately" and "calculated deflection" signpost writer opinion and a negative implication of the opposition.

Modal auxiliary verb 'would' in Article 3(3) in Paragraph 6: "later in his speech, Malema would grudgingly admit that it was impossible to escape the presence of his former political party in the province during his somewhat disorganised campaign". There is authority in the writer's claim that Malema had to admit the strong presence of the ANC in the province.

For truth, the writers mainly commit to statements. The intonation in Article 3 (3) suggests hedging on the part of the writer with the use of 'seemed' in Paragraph 2 and 8. It states "Malema's presence in eThekweni seemed to be a strategy..." . The writer does not commit to the statement by stating that it is Malema's strategy. In Paragraph 8 "...even though some of his jibes seemed to make some of the students uncomfortable", proof can only be given by accessing students to affirm to the reader that they did not fully support his statements.

Quotations

All actors are quoted directly in quotation marks. In article 3 (1) quotes are included in the middle and end with the beginning summarising the story from the writer's point of reference. Article 3 (2) provides quotes from Zille in Paragraphs 4 and 5. In article 3, Malema is quoted in the middle and end. The news functions of quotations in all three articles include the incorporation of the opinions of the main newsworthy actors – Zuma, Zille and Malema. The narrative is livened up, particularly Zuma's reference to "Nkandla..." in Paragraph 7 in Article 3(1) as it dispenses credibility to the stories.

Relational Values

There are no pronouns indicating an "us versus them" ideology in this article. The formality of the situation is observed to the extent that it refers to leading politicians by ascribing the correct titles to the actors. However, references to Zuma's opposition criticising Nkandla as a means to obscure their thin manifestos in Article 3 (1) does not show respect for, or tries to create social relationships between participants as indicated by Fairclough (1989:116). Furthermore Malema's criticisms of the ANC is suggestive that there is no "concern from participants for each other's 'face'" (Fairclough, 1989:117) as reported by the press reporter.

Metaphors

Fairclough (1989:119) highlights “specific dimension of these events, or people”, for impact, and these include idioms in the three sub-articles. Article 3 (1), Paragraph 1 uses the proverbial idiom “Nkandla monkey off his and the ruling party’s back”. In other words the writer promotes the view that he finally resolved to his satisfaction, this long-standing burden. Paragraph 4 points to Zuma using Nkandla “as a stick with which to smite his and the ruling party’s enemies” which is the writer’s interpretation of how Zuma handled his critics. Paragraph 2 describes the 2009 elections and Zuma as a messianic figure elevating him to a god-like status to extricate the people from their social problems. Paragraph 7 equating him to a wrecking ball against his opponents in his campaign is a euphemism by the writer which aims to demonstrate to the reader his fortitude in defeating the opposition on the Nkandla issue. These denote biased ideological writer implications supporting Zuma and the ANC politics and governance.

In Article 3(3), the idiomatic expression or oxymoron in Paragraph 12: “there is a method to Malema’s anti-Zuma madness” is linked to lunacy but a rational purpose is palpable to that lunacy. While his actions of campaigning in an ANC stronghold in KZN are associated with insanity, it was a sane, calculated move.

Sentence Links

Article 3 (3) in Paragraph 8 includes the connection ‘even though’ in “the applause he got from his supporters and sympathisers emboldened him to take pot shots at Zuma, even though some of his jibes seemed to make some of the students uncomfortable”. The first clause is prominent and the second is backgrounded information. The connection is correlative, meaning similar in importance and support the point made by the writer. It shows – through the use of the students’ demeanour - that the pot shots left the students feeling uneasy and hence, unfavourably shows Malema’s actions to the reader.

4.2.1.3.1 Overall tonality of Article 3

The tone in this report highlighted by the CDA categories shows bias towards the ANC in Article 3 (1), and against the EFF in article 3(3). Headlines, nominalisation, active writer voice, and metaphors point to the ideology of the journalist supporting the ANC in Article 3(1). It shows prejudice against the opposition parties and makes unfounded accusations against their manifestos to counter their criticism of President Zuma. Article 3(2) positively portrays Zille

but neither parallels the DA to the opposition and nor attacks them. The negative tonality towards the EFF in Article 3(3) is evident in the lead sentence that Malema's campaign is not very successful, thus the failure to win any new supporters.

4.2.1.4 Article 4 (4/05/14)

Presentation of the Article

Headline: "How We'll Vote"

Sub heading: "There are 10.5 million unregistered, but eligible voters – 42% of whom told Ipsos they would have voted for the ANC. This makes them the election's largest swing group".

Reporter: Sabelo Ndlangisa and Carien Du Plessis (The report does not indicate if these are staff reporters or commentators)

Type of article and layout: As a hard news article on the front page, it occupies the majority of the page from the top right hand side of the page to below the fold. The headline is in bold uppercase and about 36 points in font size. There are also five percentages of the national vote of the two main parties contending, the ANC and DA, included on the front page. Below are three percentages of the areas where they hold the major votes. The main article consists of one vertical coloured photo placed at the bottom of the article of Winnie Mandela with the caption, "Mother of the nation". The one other piece on the front page is a sidebar and is also election related. It is placed at the bottom right of the page, composed of three images, one below the other of the campaigns of the DA and the last photo of Winnie Mandela.

Summary: The article highlights the latest stats of the Ipsos survey of electoral support where ANC is at 63.4%, DA at 23% and the EFF at 5%. It indicates, according to the survey that voting takes place along racial lines, which province is dominated by which party and quotes the DA, EFF and the ANC. Each photo is accompanied by a cutline with information about the DA election rally and Winnie Mandela taking a photo with Malusi Gigaba respectively.

CDA Categories

Macro-level Analysis:

Context

This election article is three days prior to the May 7 elections. The main actors are Julius Malema (EFF), ANC deputy secretary-general Jessie Duarte, Helen Zille (DA) and Shan Balton of the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation. Their roles and actions are conveyed through the survey results and quotes, which is explicated further in the CDA micro analysis of quotations.

Past background provides information of the election campaigns such as Zille's references to the 2004 and 2009 elections relating to the euphoria created with the arrival of Bantu Holomisa, Patricia de Lille, and Congress of the People (COPE), Agang and the EFF (Paragraphs 7-12) which is educative for the reader and gives context.

Headlines

The heading is informative and eye-catching. The title uses the pronoun 'we'll' as in inclusive of the writer, reader and the newspaper. It indicates relational value but it has contextual election meaning. "How we'll vote" is not the writer's opinion but is based on the Ipsos survey. The heading is in the context of the statistical data and how each party is ranked before 'we' as the reader and the wider electorate (including members of the media as part of society) go to the polls. It does not suggest writer authority or imply speaking for the reader but performs an informative role.

The sub-heading provides statistical data for the readers regarding voting patterns and the predicted outcomes. It consists of two sentences. There are 5 additional sub-headings indicating percentages of the top two parties the ANC and the DA, that is, 63.4% and 23% respectively. Below each indicates the percentage of the national vote that each party is expected to win. Below this, in red blocks indicates Gauteng, Western Cape and Northern Cape with percentages of 58%, 65% and 62% respectively. It indicates the percentages that the ANC, DA and the ANC respectively will win in these areas. It is essentially statistical data for notifying the reader and is explicitly stated with no concealed writer perspective.

Lexical style

The style of writing is direct and informative. The lead is a complex paragraph of two sentences but summarises the main points of the story of who the frontrunners are in the election. This is useful for the reader or voter while serving as a trigger for the rest of the story. It refers to past elections in order to provide background and foundation for the survey.

Quotations include those of the most relevant actors such as the contending political parties and a civil society group. For example, Paragraph 18 indicates "Shan Balton, the executive director of the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation, said it was encouraging that the three main parties had emphasised nonracialism in their manifestos". This is significant as the writers provides a balanced perspective, accessing all sources and giving a voice to civil society. Some

paraphrased paragraphs also include quotation marks to quote actors, as in Paragraphs 9, 19 and 21.

The informal use of the phrase “new kid on the block” symbolises the arrival of the newly-formed EFF (Paragraph 14). The writer opinion is absent and all quotations are contained in quotation marks.

Micro-Level Analysis:

Nominalisation

This is a straightforward report without a nominalisation process. Agency and causality are clear where actions are ascribed directly to the actors. Participants are quoted directly. Meaning is clear, for example, Paragraph 22 states ‘EFF leader Julius Malema said his party did not specifically tailor its message to white voters, but communicated the same message to all’. The action is linked to him and there is no moderating of the EFF position on voters.

Active and passive voice

This article is written in an active voice with regard to the actors where actions are attributed to the actor. For example, extending from Paragraph 22 where Malema commented on the white vote, he states, “we are not interested in colour fronting. That is racist. You don’t tell people what they want to hear, said Malema”. Paraphrased sections include quotes in inverted commas to quote sources. The report also does not indicate the active voice of the writer.

Modality

The report is a representation of reality from the writer’s perspective, hence it reflects expressive modality. Modal auxiliary verbs that signal writer authority include the use of ‘could’ and ‘will’ in Paragraph 3; ‘could’ in Paragraph 15 and ‘will’ in Paragraphs 13 to 17. ‘Will’ articulates the writer’s expression where the writer indicates that according to the Ipsos survey the ANC will win in ‘Mpumalanga with 73%...’ ‘Could’ is used in Paragraph 3 as follows to indicate possibility: ‘Voter turnout could affect the final outcome, with higher turnout favouring the ANC in Gauteng’. Although it appears to indicate the writer’s assessment, it is relative to the survey results specifically.

Quotations

All quotes include quotation marks. Paraphrasing is evident in Paragraphs 7 and 8 for example, but does not express writer opinion. Other paraphrased paragraphs include inverted commas,

for example Shan Balton, (Ahmed Kathrada Foundation) indicates ‘this election would result in the erosion of parties that contest election on the “minority vote”’. (Paragraph 19). It gives credibility to the writer’s account of events and helps the reader interpret the stats included.

Relational Value

Regarding the formality of the text, the context deals with a social situation where participants include the president, opposition party leaders and other ANC members. The report expresses respect for status and position, addressing actors by their respective titles such as President Jacob Zuma and DA leader Helen Zille as the formality of the situation prescribes. The report informs the reader without personal opinions on high-ranking political figures.

Pronoun ‘we’ll’ in the headline does not imply speaking for the reader. The article is not an opinion-piece and is based on the statistics of a verifiable survey. The context of “we’ll” is inclusive of the reader, the writer, the paper, the voter and broader society as voters on May 7.

Metaphors

There are no metaphors in this report.

Sentence Links

Paragraph 1 indicates “After one of the most hard-fought elections, the ANC looks set to retain its more than 60% electoral majority in Parliament despite the scandals that have engulfed it under President Jacob Zuma’s leadership” (Paragraph 1). The logical link ‘despite’ is a correlative conjunction because the elements in both sentences are linked, indicating the ANC will win the elections irrespective of the scandals that have plagued it under Jacob Zuma. ‘Despite’ gives distinction to the statement and readers are reminded that, bearing in mind the context of the Nkandla’s R246 million upgrade, the ANC will still win the elections.

4.2.1.4.1 Overall tonality of Article 4

The CDA assessment shows this is a fairly straightforward election article with a neutral tone. It is balanced, truthful and independent with no direct or implicit writer opinion to suggest bias.

4.2.2 Analysis of the *Sunday Times* (13 April to 4 May 2014)

4.2.2.1 Article 1 (13/04/14)

Presentation of the Article

Headline: “Zuma beats Cape Minstrel’s drum”

Sub-heading: “President celebrates his birthday with an appeal to the Cape Flats”

Reporter: Sibusiso Ngalwa (The report does not indicate if this is a staff reporter or commentator)

Type of article and layout: It is a page 2 election report. This is not a front-page election story.² This is not an editorial or opinion and analysis and is placed on the top left-hand corner of the page. It is the only election related story on page 2. The headline is in bold black, approximately 8 points in font size and is in sentence case. It contains a horizontal coloured photo in the middle of the page of Zuma celebrating with ANC supporters.

Summary: The report is a detailed account of President Zuma’s 72nd birthday celebration which was held in the Cape Flats in Cape Town. It outlines the campaign of the ANC through a detailed account of Zuma’s speech. Opinion is also provided by the ANC provincial chairman Marius Fransman on winning votes in Western Cape and overthrowing the Democratic Alliance (DA) as the majority ruling party.

CDA Analysis

Macro-level analysis:

Context

The setting in this article is Zuma’s birthday rally at the Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone (the Cape Flats) prior to the May 7 elections. The main theme centres on the ANC campaign to gain voter support, indicated through his speech and corroborated by Marius Fransman. President Zuma and Fransman are the two main actors in this report. Their roles and actions are reported through Zuma’s speech and Fransman’s quotes. There are direct quotes by both actors as well as paraphrasing in Paragraphs 5 and 17 respectively.

Relevant background information harkens back to the 2004 and 2009 elections from Paragraphs 17 to 19. For example, Paragraph 17 indicates: “Obviously it is very difficult to

² The intention was to study the main front page article on the elections. This was not always possible as the *Sunday Times*, did not include the election article on the front page on 13 April, 2014. Therefore, the substitution was to choose the main headline election story within the paper which featured Page 2.

jump from 31% [which the ANC obtained in 2009] to 45% [which the ANC won in 2004]...but we will increase significantly and bring the DA below 50%". This has informational value for the reader. There is historical reference in the headline in the noun 'Cape minstrels' which is a festival of the coloured people linked to their history of slavery and synonymous with celebrations of the coloured people's second New Year. In Paragraph 9 Zuma highlights: "*Tweede Nuwe Jaar* [second new year] was the only day of the year that the slaves were allowed to be free for the day, celebrating their day of freedom...". The addition of this quote in the article is significant given South Africa's history of racial separatism. Such references to such slavery by the ANC will certainly elicit sentiments in voters and readers alike.

Headlines

Firstly, the headline is eye-catching as the DA has majority control in the Western Cape. Zuma's reaching out to the impoverished community of the Cape Flats will undoubtedly stimulate the reader's interest to find out the reasons behind the ANC presence in a DA stronghold. Second, the use of the noun 'Cape Minstrels' is juxtaposed with Zuma, where his 'beating' the drums suggests kinship and participation with the coloured people in the province. The sub-heading gives more detail on the gist of the story, that is, Zuma choosing to celebrate his birthday in the Cape Flats which suggests that he is showing his support for the community and recognition of the community by the ANC, thus positively portraying the ANC. Past information indicates that the ANC has not been popular in Cape Town with the DA winning the majority vote here, in previous elections.

Lexical Style

The style is a straightforward factual account of an election event. The colour image is significant as it shows camaraderie between the ANC and supporters in a DA-led province. The article fits the structure of the inverted pyramid with the most important information at the top between Paragraphs 1 – 9 and then filters to the verbal reactions expressed through direct quotes and paraphrased paragraphs. The lead paragraph in one sentence provides the necessary facts, that is, Zuma celebrated his birthday at the Cape Flats. It answers the five Ws: who (Jacob Zuma); what (his 72nd birthday celebration); when (a month before the 2012 election); where (the Cape Flats in Athlone); and why (to win votes and break the DA control in the Western Cape). Paragraph 3 expresses writer opinion as follows:

For the first time since the ANC started its election campaign, Zuma delivered a researched speech that focused on issues related to the Coloured community of Cape

Town. He had previously adopted a one-size-fits-all approach, repeating the same message at every rally.

The tone of the article is more negative towards the DA. The paraphrasing of Zuma's speech negatively represents the DA and the style of writing from Paragraphs 4 to 15 highlights their shortcomings without direct quotes to substantiate the claims. This is evident in paraphrased Paragraph 7 which states "he accused the DA-controlled Western Cape of not caring for the coloured people". There is no direct quote from Zuma to verify this claim for the reader. Other paraphrased sections include: "the ANC in the Western Cape, he said, was concerned about crime, gangsterism and drugs in the area" (Paragraph 10); and "at the rally, a number of Cape Flats organisations endorsed the ANC for the election" (Paragraph 13). These shed light on the deficiencies of the DA and also highlight for the reader, the increased support for the ANC. The DA who are slated in the report were not accessed as sources to provide a balanced view for the reader.

Micro-level Analysis:

Nominalisation

A nominalisation process is not evident in this article as agency and causality are clear and actions are mainly attributed to the actors in the story notwithstanding the paraphrased sections.

Active and Passive Voice

The writing style adopted is that of an active voice. The actions of the main actors are articulated through direct quotes. Paraphrasing is communicated through the active voice of the writer. An example of a direct quote by Zuma includes "You don't need to be afraid. Some are using *swaart gevaar* [black peril] tactics. Coloureds, just like African must also get jobs". This is written to supplement the paraphrased active voice of the writer in Paragraph 4: 'He told the crowd that affirmative action would protect and promote coloureds as well as Africans'. As shown, the agent phrase is clear with the undertone that the DA has neglected the coloured citizens.

Modality

The reporting slants more towards expressive modality and writer authority in terms of representing the truth and depicting events according to the journalist. Modal auxiliary verb 'would' in paraphrased Paragraph 4 shows the writer's depiction of events by creating a possibility that the ANC will ensure that the Coloured people will get promoted in their work.

For truth and intonation, there is no distancing or hedging from the statements made by the writer. For example, Paragraph 3 which is per se the journalist's account includes, "for the first time since the ANC started its election campaign, Zuma delivered a researched speech that focused on issues related to the Coloured community of Cape Town...one-size-fits-all approach, repeating the same message at every rally". The writer commits to the statements made. The tone shows reproof, evident through words such as 'for the first time'; 'delivered a researched speech'; and 'one-size-fits-all approach' suggesting to the reader that the ANC is just beginning to take notice and address the Coloured peoples' concerns.

Relational Values

The report makes use of polite vocabulary in this narrative. There is no informal choice of words. Respect for position is heeded where both participants' titles are referenced. There are no use of pronouns such as 'we' or 'you' that speak for the reader or paper despite the marked disparagements of the DA in paraphrased Paragraphs 10 and 11 which highlight poor governance through crime, gangsterism and drugs. The platform given to the ANC allows the party to be directly quoted, therefore the tonality points to veiled biased inclinations that point to positive connotations of the ANC for the reader.

Quotations

Quotations are positioned from the Paragraph 5 to the end of the article. The structuring thereof contributes to the flow of the story. Zuma is directly quoted in Paragraphs 5, 6, 8 and 9. Fransman is quoted from Paragraphs 17, 19, 21 and 22. An example of a direct quote – not already recorded in this analysis from Fransman is as follows:

This is a community endorsement rally. We could have easily convened in Delft and have 15 000 people or in Khayelitsha and have 20 000 people...but this is about the Cape Flats, which is supposed to be a DA controlled area (Paragraph 17).

This quote allows the ANC's standpoint to be heard and helps with interpreting the ANC campaign for the reader. In other words, the quotation seems to suggest that the ANC is afforded the opportunity to 'speak' directly to the reader while the opposition is not. Paraphrased Paragraph 10 indicates: "Zuma also touched upon education. He lauded the crowd for having "fought" to keep 27 schools open after Helen Zille's government tried to close them". Paraphrased Paragraph 11 highlights crime, gangsterism and drugs in the province linked to DA governance. Although the article is a sensible account of events, there is an ideological writer implication in that it amplifies the DA's limitations with no sources from them to counter the claims by Zuma. It appears to serve the underlying tone of a progressive

ANC presence and their intention to successfully address the social and cultural issues relevant to the Coloured people – presumably ignored by the DA. Highlighting the defection of a DA member in conjunction with highlighting the ANC’s motives to take control of Western Cape, and the writer’s opinion that the ANC “delivered a researched speech” (Paragraph 3), advances and supports this underlying theme. It would appear that highlighting of these social concerns signposts ideological manipulation which could sway the reader.

Metaphors

The verb in the headline “beats” Cape minstrels’ drum (noun) is idiomatic of Zuma participating and showing rapport with the coloured people. It positively conveys Zuma’s acknowledgment of their culture to the reader.

“One-size-fits-all approach” (Paragraph 3) by the writer is used to characteristically show that the previous ANC approach to campaigning was standardised and did not accommodate the specific audience he was electioneering to. Now, his speech was “researched” and “focused” and obliged the different races and their cultures, which conveys a positive subtext of the ANC.

The verb “Paraded” (Paragraph 20), in reference to former DA chairperson Grant Pascoe who defected to the ANC is symbolic of growing ANC support. It implies that the ANC is exhibiting their new recruit and slightly sardonically, suggests smug ANC manner.

Sentence Links

As explained by Fairclough (1989:131), certain links such as “‘even though’ or ‘as a result’ within specific contexts” are able to show a “causal relationship” which can impute an ideological association. For the purpose of locating ideological assumptions that point to unethical reporting, there are no evident correlative sentence links in the article that directly identify an underlying relationship with the aim of promoting an ideological assumption.

4.2.2.1.1 Overall tonality Article 1

Even though the reportage does not openly support a political party, there is an overall negative tonality in this article directed towards the DA. The CDA criteria of metaphors, quotation and lexical style highlights the limitations of the DA in the Western Cape. It does not provide them with a platform to respond to the allegations made by Zuma and faults pointed out by the writer. Although it is a truthful account, the tone is evocative and it is the contention in this analysis that this article lacks independence and balance, thus exhibiting bias against the DA.

4.2.2.2 Article 2 (20/04/14)

Presentation of the article

Headline: - “ANC’s voters shrug off Nkandla”

- “ANC still riding high among voters in spite of Nkandla scandal”

Sub-heading: - “Survey suggests ANC support down slightly to 65.5 % as of April on average turnout of 74.5%”

Reporter: Gareth Van Onselen – The report does not indicate if he is a staff reporter or commentator.

Type of article and layout: it is a hard news election report on the front page, continued on page 5. It is placed above the fold on the top right corner of the page. Three other stories feature on the front page. The headline is in sentence case and approximately 12 points in font size. On page 5, the report is the main headline story on the top right of the page in bold print. The headline is approximately 24 points in font size. It contains three coloured photos which include a horizontal photo of election statistics from the 2009 and 2014 poll; a large vertical image of Zuma campaigning; and a smaller horizontal photo of his homestead Nkandla.

Summary: It summarises a *Sunday Times* Ipsos election survey commissioned by the newspaper which was conducted a day after Public Protector Thuli Madonsela released her report on Nkandla on 20 March, 2014 on the over R200 million spent on Zuma’s private residence. The article does not provide details of the Public Protector’s report. It shows statistics of the three main parties, that is, the ANC in the lead but down by 65.5%; the EFF which increased by 4% and the DA up at 23.1%.

CDA Categories

Macro-level Analysis:

Context

This is an election related report published prior to the May 7 elections. The actors include the ANC, DA EFF, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and Agang. The report includes the results of the survey. Background information includes reference to the Nkandla scandal. The results of this survey indicate that ‘Nkandla’ did not have a negative impact on voter support for the ANC with only a minor decline (Paragraph 1) and which is also indicated in the headline. The Nkandla image showing a portion of the fenced homestead and numerous surrounding households is relevant as over R200 million of tax payer’s money was said to have financed these refurbishments. The image has an information function. It firstly serves to give readers

a visual of the extravagance of the homestead. Secondly, the scandal was presumed to have had a negative impact on voter support for ANC which it did not.

Headlines

On a literal level the headline on the front page and on page 5 are taken to mean that the ANC are still the frontrunners in the election despite the revelation of the scandal in the report. It was expected to have had a negative effect and erode support for the party. The headline holds relevance for the reader as tax payers' money was used for the over R200 million upgrade. There is an implication implied in the headline that there was an expectation that the revelation of the scandal would cause voters to abandon support for the ANC, but it did not transpire and the support was sustained. The use of Nkandla in the headline also grabs the reader's attention and upgrades a standard election survey.

Lexical Style

The lead sentence (Paragraph 1) corroborates the headline and formulates the gist of the article, that is, the Nkandla scandal did not result in the decline of support for the ANC. The broader socio-political context may be a factor in determining the journalist's choice of noun 'Nkandla', given the scandals and corruption associated with President Zuma. Paragraph 4 on the front page indicates that the EFF has "benefitted from the disenchantment with the ANC". Paragraph 5 on page 2 of the report does indicate that the Public Protector's report had a marginal negative effect on the ANC and thus, the decline from their 66.1% to 65.5%. There are no examples of ANC corruption included in the article other than the implication that the report did not have the anticipated negative effect on voter support.

The outcome for smaller parties is incorporated which provides balance by informing that their support had declined from 2009. For example, the support for Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) declined from 4.5% to 2.8% (Paragraph 14 on Page 2). The effect as indicated by the report is that the ANC and the DA have benefitted from the collapse of these parties (Paragraph 15 on page 2). According to the paper, the expected outcome is that there is a possibility of undercounting the smaller parties' votes because the IFP relies on rural votes which were undercounted in this survey. So, the expected outcome is that the difference could be marginal on Election Day.

Direct quotes from any of the participants or contending political parties cannot be found. 'Shrug off' is a synonym for the voters' possible dismissal of Nkandla. Nevertheless, the

Nkandla scandal had a marginal impact on the ANC (drop from 66.1% to 65.5%) and is therefore, necessary information. The use of 'battleground' in Paragraph 9 in relation the Gauteng and Western Cape provinces and the ANC and the DA respectively, suggests a combat, where the symbolic fighting for voters' support is taking place.

Micro-Level Analysis:

Nominalisation

A nominalisation process is not evident in this report - agency and causality are clear. All actions in the context of this being a straight report are attributed to the actors, that is, the political parties - the results of the survey and any references thereof are linked directly to the political parties. The causality of Nkandla is directly linked to Zuma. There is no direct writer opinion or any concealment through the exchange of verbs for nouns, for example, to reduce agency.

Active and Passive Voice

It is written in passive voice in the format of a summary of the survey results. The actions of the agent and writer are not evident. However, an active sentence is used in Paragraph 8: 'Zuma was booed again, this time at a party rally. If his support continues to decline, it could constitute a significant problem for the ANC in the closing weeks of the campaign'. It is significant as it gives perspective to the survey results and underscores the context of Nkandla. The use of the verb 'booing' implies loss of voter confidence in Zuma. But this is contradicted by the results of the survey.

Modality

Modal auxiliary verbs include 'could' in Paragraph 8: "...If his support continues to decline it could constitute a significant problem for the ANC in the closing weeks of the campaign". This indicates expressive modality with respect to the writer's representation of the situation. The report uses a passive rather than an active voice. There is a nominalisation process evident in that the writer's statement does not attribute the actions of booing to the ANC supporters at the rally. The use of 'could' in this paragraph indicates that a problematic situation is a possibility for Zuma and does not show certainty that his support will decline. It shows the writer hedging as an active voice would have clearly stated that Zuma was booed by voters which would convey commitment to the statement.

Quotations

There are no direct quotations by the actors included in this report.

Relational Values

The formality of the situation is observed where all the relevant actors are addressed by their titles such as ‘President Zuma’ as well as the identification of the EFF party leader Julius Malema. The writer does not express having any social relationships with any of the actors in the story and does not use personal pronouns to indicate writer position and speaking for the reader. However, the use of Nkandla as a theme to report on the *Sunday Times* survey is an indication of the press promoting their own ideological opposition to the ANC and President Zuma. Implication in the report leans towards an expectation that the scandal would cause voters to abandon support for the ANC and shows a degree of opposition for the ANC by highlighting the corruption around Nkandla.

Metaphors

The use of the ‘cost’ as a verb in relation to the “Nkandla scandal has not cost the ANC too dearly” (Paragraph 1 on the front page) suggests no price or associated risk has come with the tag attached to Nkandla for the ANC.

Sentence Links

The link ‘although’ is used in Paragraph 1: “an exclusive Sunday Times election poll suggests the Nkandla scandal has not cost the ANC too dearly, although its support has declined marginally”. It is a correlative conjunction that joins similar elements in both sentences. It infers that despite the scandal, the party is not divested of much support. The first sentence is the main clause and features prominent information, and the second sentence or subordinate clause is backgrounded information.

4.2.2.2.1 Overall tonality of Article 2

This article presents the results of the survey in a clear representation of verifiable facts. It is balanced in that all parties are represented in the article. However, it lacks independence in that the writer expectation is that Nkandla would have negatively impacted voting for the ANC. The headline, relational values and the use of the metaphor ‘cost’ in the CDA shows a presumed negative consequence. The tonality shows implicit bias against the ANC and the writer advancing an ideological opposition divergent to the ANC and President Zuma.

4.2.2.3 Article 3 (27/04/14)

Presentation of the article

Headline: “Cop erases photos of ANC T-shirt handout”

Sub-heading: “Shots showed the shirts piled in a traffic police car. They were being given out by uniformed officers”

Reporter: Monica Langaparsad (the report does not indicate if the journalist is a staff reporter or commentator)

Type of article and layout: The following article is a straight news report on the front page, presented above the fold and centred. The font is in white on a black background and is approximately 12 points in font size. There are no other election articles on the front page. It contains a horizontal coloured photo positioned in the centre of the page of a member of the VIP presidential unit seizing the cellphone of the reporter. The second smaller photo picture is that of a Gauteng traffic department vehicle transporting ANC t-shirts. The images corroborate the headlines that publicise abusive behaviour of ANC members.

Summary: The report provides the account of eNCA reporter Nicholaus Bauer’s phone being forcibly removed by a member of the presidential VIP unit and deleting his pictures. The deleted pictures are that of uniformed police officers transporting ANC t-shirts during Zuma’s election campaign in Duduza, Ekurhuleni. It is principally, a retelling of the events.

CDA Categories

Macro-level Analysis:

Context

This is an election related article published prior to the May 7 elections. The setting is an ANC election campaign in Duduza, Ekurhuleni. The main actors include SAPS VIP presidential protection services, eNCA reporter- Nickolaus Bauer, senior *Sunday Times* photographer- Simphiwe Nkwali, eNCA group news editor- Ben Said, ANC spokesperson- Keith Khoza, press freedom spokesperson for the South African National Editors’ Forum- Raymond Louw and traffic department spokesman- Busaphi Nxumalo. Their actions are detailed in the report and actors are quoted, which provide a balanced account of the event. This report does not contain a reference to any background information.

Headlines

The headline “Cop erases photos of ANC T-shirt handout” is just above the main image of the member deleting an image from the phone and Bauer trying to communicate with him. The

caption of the photo reads “Away with evidence: Journalist Nickolaus Bauer, right, pleads as a member of the presidential VIP security detail deletes Bauer’s pictures”. Together with the sub-heading, the headline articulates the topic and encapsulates the most important information for the reader. The headline and sub-heading are also evocative and have negative connotations attached to them, portraying the ANC as aggressive. This has the capacity to negatively influence how this event is defined for the reader.

Lexical Style

The sequence is relevant because the lead paragraph flows from the headline and subheading, and guides the reading process, serving as a springboard for the rest of the story. It frames the main points of the story and articulates the macrostructure of the story, attracting reader interest. It reads: “His offence – taking pictures of a Gauteng traffic police vehicle being used to ferry ANC T-shirts during President Jacob Zuma’s election campaign in Duduza, Ekurhuleni, on Friday”. Although factual, it signals writer affinity with the actor – the victim – through the style of writing and positioning of the headline, sub-heading and images. The outlining of his so-called offence (Paragraph 1), “taking pictures of a Gauteng traffic police being used to ferry ANC T-shirts during President Zuma’s election campaign...”, implies that the ‘punishment does not fit the crime’ – in a manner of speaking.

The two images – one of which is placed at the bottom of the report showing the traffic vehicle transporting the T-shirts and the main image of a security detail deleting pictures from the cellphone - serve as testimonies of the events in the report. A negative connotation is attached to the agent (a VIP Protection Unit and ANC member) through the images, the headline and sub-heading, an eye-witness account and the opinions of all relevant parties. It is based on verifiable information and contributes to truth and so cannot be ascribed to writer opinion.

The use of the word ‘pleads’ in the caption is emotive and signals sentiment and affinity for the afflicted journalist by the writer, portraying the journalist as the victim in the story. It can therefore stimulate similar sentiments in the reader. ‘Side-stepped’ in Paragraph 17: “Khoza side-stepped questions on why a state vehicle was used to transport ANC T-shirts” implies evasive action on the part of the ANC in its explanation of the behaviour of a party member in relation to unlawful abuse of state resources (use of police vehicles for campaigning). It shows a degree of bias on the writer’s part as there is no direct quote from him to substantiate the claim of Khoza evading questions and thus negatively portrays the ANC.

Micro-Level Analysis:

Nominalisation

A nominalisation process is not evident in this report. All actions are directly ascribed to the relevant actors such as the ANC VIP unit through verbs such as cop “erases” photos. There is no concealment of the actions of the main actors. The effect of the condemnation by the ANC and Sanef, for example, and the possibility of lodging a complaint by the reporter is specified. So, the effect is highlighted.

Active and Passive voice

The report uses active sentences where agency is present and clear. The actions of agent who deleted the photos is pointed out. The ANC spokesperson is directly quoted, for example a perpetrator example Paragraph 13 of ANC spokesman Keith Khoza reads “People must not interfere with journalists while they are working. We uphold the rights and freedoms of the media”. The active voice of the victim Bauer is quoted in Paragraph 4 which reads: “As soon as I saw this I knew it was an abuse of state resources and I immediately snapped between 10 and 12 photos through the car’s windscreen,” he said”. The active voice strengthens the truthfulness of the account of events and gives balance.

Modality

The report confirms with the writer’s authority, that is, the writer’s evaluation of the truth and hence, expressive modality. There is no use of modal auxiliary verbs that express the direct opinions of the writer. It is an account of the events that transpired. Actions of participants are stated and directly attributed to the relevant actors so there is no hedging present on the writer’s part. However, there are subtle inferences that indicate bias such as not directly quoting the ANC spokesperson in relation to him side-stepping the issue (Paragraph 17). Verbs such as “pleads” make an emotional appeal to the reader. The tone in Paragraphs 9-20 shows the actions of the ANC as erroneous and the relevant quoted parties such as Sanef spokesperson Raymond Louw all highlight the wrongdoing on the ANC’s part, for example “Louw said it was a “travesty of the 20-years-of –democracy celebrations” (Paragraph 15). The tone of the article inclines towards biased writer inclinations.

Quotations

Quotes are balanced and show that the writer accessed all relevant sources to verify facts, which help the reader interpret the event. It includes the ANC spokesperson as associated with the

agent in the story (Paragraphs 13 and 14), the journalist accosted (Paragraph 4), SANEF Paragraphs 15 and 16), Gauteng traffic department (Paragraph 18) and eye witnesses, that is, a *Sunday Times* photographer (Paragraph 7). They were all given an opportunity to voice their account of events. For example, eye witness account in Paragraph 8 of Simphiwe Nkwali, a *Sunday Times* photographer indicated: “*Sisemlilweni already...nawe ufuna ukusifaka*” [We are in hot water and you want to put us in more trouble] please delete those pictures or else we will do it for you”.

Relational Values

Politeness and respect for authority and status is recognised in that all sources are addressed by the titles they hold in the public. All accused parties were allowed the space to put forth their side and thus, formality and courtesy were afforded with no speaking for the reader through the use of personal pronouns.

Metaphors

There are no metaphors used by the writer to convey events to the reader.

Sentence Links

Although there are no links in the sentences that indicate that anything common sense or reasonable is visibly predisposed, there are biased ideological underpinnings in this report.

4.2.2.3.1 Overall tonality of Article 3

Truth and balance are upheld in the report according to the CDA. The writer’s viewpoint is not obvious but subliminally expressed in the language through an evocative headline, lexical style showing affinity with the victim, modality and an active writer voice. The tone is not independent and negatively depicts the ANC, articulating the mishandling of a journalist by the VIP Protection Unit. References to the ANC spokesperson acknowledging press freedom advance the newspaper’s ideology related to a free press.

4.2.2.4 Article 4 (27/04/14)

Presentation of the Article

Headline: “No ANC two-thirds”

Sub-heading: - “Latest poll shows ruling part falling back to low 60s”

- “DA predicted to enjoy steepest growth of any party”

- “Malema’s EFF may get to send 19 MPs to parliament”

Reporter: Gareth Van Onselen (the report does not indicate if the journalist is a staff reporter or commentator)

Type of article and layout: It is a hard news report on the front page. It is placed above the fold on the left of the page and occupies approximately 29 cm of the page. There is only one other article above the fold which is not election related. These are the only two articles on the front page. The headline is in bold font and is approximately 36 points in font size. Below are three horizontal red bulleted points of the election polls. There are two horizontal coloured images, one below the other, of the President Zuma (ANC) above and a smaller image of Helen Zille (DA) below. The positioning of the photos in addition to the bigger ANC image conveys prominence to the ANC.

Summary: This is a follow up to the 20 April report that outlines the results of the *Sunday Times* commissioned Ipsos election survey and that figures are based on voter turnouts. Reporting that Zuma will secure his second term, the ANC will get 63.9% of the vote and that support for the ANC has declined, it further informs that the official opposition, the DA, has a 23% growth in its support. It shows the stats for the leading parties while still highlighting smaller parties such as COPE, Freedom Party, Pan Africanist Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

CDA Categories

Macro-Level Analysis:

Context

The time of the event is three days prior to the May 7 elections and the context surrounds the build-up to the elections and the positioning of the main parties within. This report is an example of the newspaper's attempt to acquire objective information about public sentiment and make predictive evaluation of the result through the survey. The main actors are President Jacob Zuma (ANC), Helen Zille (DA), EFF, Agang and COPE. Opinions of Professor Amanda Gouws from the University of Stellenbosch on the impact of Nkandla (Paragraph 8) and political analyst Ebrahim Fakir who analyses voter turnout (Paragraph 15-19) are comprised. Zuma and Zille, the two main contenders, are quoted directly, giving a platform for them to promote their campaigns. Relevant background information concisely provide details of the 2009 elections and 65.9% vote of the ANC as well as references to the Public Protector's Nkandla report. Its perspective on Nkandla relates to its impact of decreasing support for the ANC. Apart from these two references, the style is a straightforward informative report.

Headlines

The headline 'No ANC two-thirds' is the main headline. The headline has an important implication for the political position in the composition of parliament after the election in that it does not have the majority of seats in Parliament to effectively pass its own legislation and for example, amend the Constitution. Depending on the party a reader supports, it will either gratify or disappoint them. The heading and sub-heading are informative and valuable as these are the three main parties contending in this election and such data is therefore necessary. Further, the social context of Nkandla is part of a broader social problem of corruption in the ANC, so, if any impact is evident on the ANC, it is the public's right to know. It notifies readers of possible outcomes for the elections which could sway how they choose to vote. It is straightforward, informative and unambiguous and any negative association is not apparent.

Lexical style

The aforementioned hard news item provides statistical information on the Ipsos survey, predicting who the frontrunners in the elections are and the possible outcomes. The lead paragraph in one sentence precisely outlines the most important point – that Jacob Zuma will secure a second term in office but without the two-thirds majority. Details of voter turnout are included with the estimation of a political analyst. The views of President Zuma and Helen Zille are incorporated for party positions in Paragraphs 10 and 12. They did not respond directly to the results of the survey but are quoted speaking at their respective rallies. Paragraph 6 contains bulleted points that elaborate on the results of the survey. Journalistic opinion is not expressed by synonyms, antonyms, metaphors or conjunctions, for instance, which could indicate political leanings. All quotations are in inverted commas and direct speech within paraphrased sentences are within quotation marks. The style most importantly, updates and educates the reader prior to elections.

Micro-Level Analysis:

Nominalisation

A nominalisation process is not evident in this article. Actions are ascribed directly to the actors so agency and causality are clear. The sentences are constructed using direct quotes. For example, Paragraphs 8, 10 and 12 quote Professor Gouws, President Zuma and DA leader Helen Zille. There is use of a timeline that outlines the support for the three main parties from 2009, and a 2014 March, April 4th and 23rd survey.

Active and passive voice

All action processes are indicated through active sentences of the actors with no active writer voice. Actions are directly ascribed to the actors through the use of verbs such as Zuma ‘said’ (Paragraph 9) and Zille ‘called for’ a “bluenami” (Paragraph 2). Agency is clear.

Modality

The report indicates expressive modality and the writer’s authority with respect to presenting a representation of the truth of the survey results. Modal auxiliary verbs include ‘will’ in Paragraph 6, for example, “the ANC will finish the election in the 60% low range...”. It is not writer speculation as it is the outcome of an independent survey. The use of ‘will’ also serves to educate rather than impinge on the reader’s view. However, speculation is evident in Paragraph 11 which indicates “Zuma will be hoping to demonstrate his party’s electoral strength when the ANC holds its final Siyanqoba rally at the 94 000-seat FBN stadium this morning in Soweto”. But, given the context of this being part of the election campaign to win votes, its inclusion by the writer is justified. For truth, the writer commits to the statements as indicated in Paragraphs 1 and 6. For example, Paragraph 1: “President Jacob Zuma is set to secure his second term in office with a landslide victory – but not the two-thirds majority he had asked for in Wednesday’s elections”, shows writer certainty and no hedging.

Quotations

Quotations of all relevant actors are included. It comprehensively offers the assessment of a political analyst and university professor which lends weight to the survey and sufficiently informs readers and voters. It signposts that the writer accessed all sources which gives the report credibility, helps the reader interpret the story, and informs and educates readers on the elections. For example, Paragraph 8 indicates the opinion of Professor Amanda Gouws: “the impact of Nkandla is negligible because it seems to only matter to middle-class voters”, and that “the survey confirms what analysts have been saying for the last few weeks – that the ANC’s support will come down, but not below 60%”. In Paragraph 11, Zuma’s voice is included: “I have been in every province and the experiences have been absolutely wonderful. The love for the ANC is amazing...in fact, it is increasing with time”. The DA position is also contained indicating “you hire with your vote and you fire with your vote” (Paragraph 12). The estimation of political analyst Ebrahim Fakir in Paragraph 16 indicates: “some nine million people decided not to register, which suggest malaise, particularly among ANC voters”. These, thus point to a balanced range of opinions which provide indicators of each party’s ranking.

Relational Values

Owing to the situation dealing with a political event, the writer is mindful of the formality of the situation where more formal choices are expressed through the vocabulary. This includes addressing all actors by their titles such as President Zuma and Professor Amanda Gouws. There is no use of figures of speech indicating writer opinion or pronouns indicating implicit writer authority or speaking for the reader.

Metaphors

There are no metaphors in this article. It is a straightforward report.

Sentence Links

Paragraph 22 uses the conjunction ‘because’ in the following: “The last two weeks of the campaign are crucial for political parties because it is during this period that undecided voters make up their minds”. The component simple sentences have equal weight and answer the question ‘why’. ‘Because’ is used as a logical connection to indicate a causal relationship, that is, the last two weeks are dependent on voters choosing political parties. The analysis concludes that while no ideological underpinnings are attached, it emphasises the importance of the last two weeks for voters. This is crucial for informing both political parties and voters.

4.2.2.4.1 Overall tonality of Article 4

The tone of this report is candid and based essentially on statistical information on the Ipsos survey. The CDA has found that it does not promote any journalistic bias. In terms of ethical reporting, it is truthful, balanced and independent.

4.2.3 Analysis of the *Mail & Guardian* (11 April to 4 May)

4.2.3.1 Article 1: 11/04/14

Presentation of the Article

Headline: “Numsa’s warning to Vavi: Don’t campaign for the ANC” (on the front page)
“Political truce traps Vavi” (Page 2)

Sub heading: “Cosatu’s reinstated general secretary is damned if he supports the ANC and damned if he doesn’t”.

Reporter: Matuma Letsoalo (The report does not indicate if this is a staff reporter or commentator)

Type of article and layout: The front page of the *Mail & Guardian* consists only of the titles of the articles. The report is not the front page headline but the main, largest font election headline below the fold of the paper, followed by the article on page 2. On the front page, the article is placed at the bottom right with a coloured photo of Vavi. The headline is in red and black bold sentence case and approximately 12 points. There are 5 reports on the front page and only one other is election related. This is an opinion piece on page 8 and is in small font on the right of the page. On Page 2, the analysed article is the only report, positioned at the top of the page. It contains two coloured photos. The first image is that of protestors’ placards supporting Zwelinzima Vavi. The second image includes Vavi with Numsa’s Irvin Jim smiling in rapport. Both are eye-catching and enhance the information in the headline.

Summary: With the elections as the backdrop, this report outlines Vavi’s dilemma in being authorised to campaign for the ANC by Cosatu president Sdumo Dlamini while simultaneously being warned by his supporters in the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) not to support the ANC. It informs that Vavi’s suspension was challenged by Numsa and that he was reinstated by the Johannesburg High Court. Other relevant details include details of the divisions in Cosatu which have affected the campaign of alliance partner ANC.

CDA Analysis

Macro-level analysis:

Context

This is an election related report published prior to the May 7 elections, reporting on Vavi being compelled to campaign for the ANC by the Cosatu president. The main actors are Cosatu President- Sdumo Dlamini, Irvin Jim of Numsa, Deputy President- Cyril Ramaphosa and secretary general of Numsa-Frans Baleni. Their roles, actions and opinions are elucidated through direct quotes concerning Vavi’s situation, for example, a quote by Irvin Jim in

Paragraph 16 indicates: “he [Vavi] must wake up. He has not crossed the Rubicon...to see that nothing will change under the ANC. They will continue to mess him up”. No historical information has been provided. The event is current and addresses an immediate issue.

Headlines

The red and black headline accompanying the image of Vavi echoes the strong message by Numsa. The noun ‘warning’ by them suggests a threat. The headline “Don’t campaign for the ANC” signposts a caveat to Vavi, for the reader. Both are eye-catching and serve an informative purpose for the reader. Headline 2 on page 2 is bold and striking. The use of the suggestive noun ‘traps’ implies that the truce is deceptive and contrary to Vavi’s interests. It is substantiated in the sub-heading that provides more detail on the gist of the story and helps the reader consolidate the information in the headlines. It leads the reader by implying that Vavi is being threatened by Numsa and that he is Catch-22 between Cosatu and Numsa.

Lexical Style

The style is a straight news report that presents the verifiable detail of the deal brokered between the ANC and Cosatu. The structure takes the shape of the inverted pyramid, with the most important information presented foremost. It filters down to the verbal reactions expressed through direct quotes and paraphrased sections. The lead paragraph, in one sentence, formulates the essence of the story, that is, the deal brokered between the ANC and Cosatu means that Cosatu general secretary Vavi’s standing with his supporters in the trade unions will be compromised. The primary information answers the 5 W’s of who, what, when where and how: who (Vavi); what (instructed to campaign for the ANC); when (at the 2014 elections); where (at the central executive committee meeting); and how (after a deal was brokered between Cosatu and the ANC). Paragraphs 1 to 10 report that the deal between the ANC and Cosatu means that Vavi will have to campaign for the ANC despite his objections and that this has angered his supporters in Numsa. The selection of words is candid and the use of direct quotes from paragraph 13 onwards is conspicuous. Paraphrased paragraphs and relevant sources corroborate the events depicted. Headline 1 suggests tension with Numsa and Headline 2 on page 2 validates this headline for the reader. The writer’s choice of ‘traps’ (Headline 2) is defensible given the context of his no-win situation with the unions and Cosatu.

Micro-level Analysis:

Nominalisation

Agency and causality are clear and all actions are attributed to the actors in the story. The actions are expressed through direct quotes and actions ascribed directly to the actors. For example, the “strong warning” of Vavi (Paragraph 2) is ascribed to Irvin Jim. Nominalisation processes are therefore, not used in this article.

Active and Passive Voice

This article utilises an active voice of the actors. The actions of the main actors are emphasised by direct quotes which lends itself to articulating the meaning of the story. For example, the voice of Vavi is heard in Paragraph 29: “the poor can see that the national democratic revolution is continuing to produce billionaires while they are still living in squalor”. Actions are ascribed directly to the agents, for example, “Numsa, a staunch supporter of Vavi, and eight other Cosatu affiliates challenged the decision to suspend Vavi in court” (Paragraph 8). The action of challenging the suspension was attributed to Numsa. All paraphrased sentences are confirmed by direct quotes, for example, the paraphrased sentence “approached by the *M&G* this week, Vavi refused to comment on Jim’s remark and did not say whether he will campaign for the ANC” (Paragraph 24) is followed by a direct quote for validation as paragraph 25 states, “why must I answer that?”, thereby proving his statement. Active writer voice is not expressed.

Modality

This article inclines towards expressive modality and writer authority in respect of a depiction of the events from the writer’s perspective and the writer’s representation of the truth. Use of the verb “could” (Paragraph 1) shows possibility, speculating that the ire of Vavi’s supporters may possibly be raised, should he campaign for the ANC. With respect to truth and intonation, there is no distancing from the statements made by the writer. The report is a direct reporting of the events in the story and demonstrate writer opinion or bias.

Relational Values

The report is mindful of polite vocabulary. There are no informal choices of words that slander any of the participants in the story. Respect for position is heeded where all participants’ titles are used. There is no use of pronouns (we or you) that speak for the reader to indicate implicit writer authority.

Quotations

All quotes are positioned from the middle to the end of the article but do lessen the importance of the story. The style and structuring contributes to the flow of the story. The article contains paraphrased sentences but is followed by direct verifiable quotes. For example, paraphrased Paragraph 12 states: “a senior Cosatu leader sympathetic to Dlamini said there nothing to prevent Cosatu from acting against Vavi again”. This is corroborated by a direct quote in Paragraph 13 which states: “you can deal with unity on the side. You cannot surrender your constitution to others [the ANC]... We welcome the ANC’s intervention, but we must discuss the matter”. The quotes give credibility to the account of events with the underlying theme of Vavi’s predicament and highlight that he is not supported by Cosatu.

Metaphors

While “not crossed the Rubicon” (Paragraph 16) and “smoke the peace pipe” (Paragraph 18) are emblematic of the Vavi-Cosatu relationship, these are the views of the actors in the stories and not the writer but highlight the various points of view.

Sentence Links

There is no use of conjunctions in the sentences that highlight any consequential relationships, bearing in mind that the election context can highlight underlying writer ideology that could be likened to unethical reporting.

4.2.3.1.1 Overall tonality of Article 1

The tonality highlighted by the categories of the CDA points to straight news reporting where there is no position of the paper or journalist expressed, or underlying writer ideology to be assessed as biased. It was measured as truthful, balanced and independent and neutral in tone.

4.2.3.2 Article 2 (17/04/14)

Presentation of the Article

Headline: “Battle for a post-Zuma ANC begins

“2014: The lame duck in waiting”

Sub heading: “Once the president announces his new Cabinet, those he overlooks will look for new alliances as the focus turns to who will lead the party in 2017”

“Zuma’s real test will come after the polls when his alliances unravel and the infighting begins”

Reporter: Mail & Guardian political staff (the name of the reporter is not provided)

Type of article and layout: This is the main election headline and main story at the top right half of the front page. The headline is in bold black sentence case and the font size is approximately 16 points. The story is located on page 3. To the left is a sidebar with lifestyle related articles and relevant page numbers. There are two other reports on the front page. Directly below the main report is one other election-related opinion story on page 6. The headline on page 3 is approximately 24 points. There are two coloured photos of the ANC celebrating, contradicting the main headline that indicates an end for President Zuma.

Summary: This report centres on the difficulty of Zuma's second term by outlining the potential challenges that will make his presidency more difficult. It sketches different scenarios once he is elected. Examples provided touch on the close scrutiny from his own party, factions and infighting within the ANC, "Nkandlagate", calls for a 'No Vote' by ANC stalwarts and the upsurge of the Economic Freedom Fighters for the 2014 elections. It voices that the ANC will, in all probability, win the May 7 elections.

CDA Categories

Macro-level Analysis:

Context

This is an election related report published prior to the elections on May 7. The main actors include ANC MP's, ANC Stalwarts, NEC members, Deputy President - Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC Secretary General- Gwede Mantashe. Their opinions on his re-election are provided through paraphrasing and mentioning direct quotes that corroborate the event. For example, Paragraph 4 presents the view of a veteran ANC MP: "stop living in the past and the present, start thinking about the future". Background information highlighted in this article includes references to the 2009 election (Paragraph 6); Mantashe's deteriorating relationship with Zuma since 2012 (Paragraph 16-18); and references to Ramaphosa's link to the Marikana massacre (Paragraph 20). These demonstrate the writer's standpoint that Zuma's second term will be challenging.

Headlines

The headline is bold and conspicuous. The noun 'battle' conveys a war-like connotation indicating a symbolic battle, that is, an attack on and opposition to Zuma's second term. The noun phrase 'lame-duck' in the headline on page 2 draws the reader's attention. Naming the president as such is evocative and bears negative connotations. It presumes an outgoing president but is symbolic in that the 2014 elections have yet to take place and he has not begun

his second term. The writer's standpoint is audacious and the formation of both the headline and subheading expresses the topic by underscoring the important points of the report for the reader. However, the tone is negative owing to the use of words such as 'alliances unravel' and 'infighting' on page 2.

Lexical Style

The style of writing outrightly probes into Zuma's second term in office, presenting the possible challenges facing him. The lead is a two sentence paragraph presuming that Zuma's second term will be challenging and that he will face resistance in the ANC. It also serves as a springboard for the story. Frankness reigns supreme, with the writer unequivocally articulating the election outcomes. Journalistic opinion is gauged in the overall tone through opinion, quoting sources that validate the theme of the article, and predicting outcomes after the elections. For example Paragraph 2 which expresses "Some of the rebellious factions, excluded from the Cabinet, are likely to coalesce around senior ANC officials". This is not backed by quotes from verifiable sources. "Lame-duck" symbolically indicates the president's power waning. It is an intrepid and negative choice of noun and reveals an image of a weakened president. Moreover, this is supported by fact in Paragraph 10: "in terms of the constitution, Zuma can only serve as head of state for two terms, meaning that he is essentially a lame-duck president after May 7 when he returns as president for a second time, as was the case with Mbeki".

Paragraph 5, "for now there is a strong push to save Zuma and the ANC the embarrassment of mustering less than 60% of the vote for the first time, with party leaders criss-crossing the country to shore up support ahead of the May 7 polls", uses action verbs to report the canvassing of the ANC. The writer uses verbs such as 'push', 'mustering' and 'criss-crossing' to negatively emphasise the efforts expended by the ANC to retain Zuma. The noun 'embarrassment' unravels an extreme writer opinion, conveying a poor image of Zuma. 'Parapet' in paragraph 7: "none of the factions in KwaZulu Natal are prepared to raise their heads above the parapet, atleast not now", is a symbolic of a wall or blockade which implies that supporters are being restrained. "Nkandlagate" in Paragraph 8 is a synonym for the scandal linked to Zuma's homestead and has an evocative implication that speaks to the reader's awareness of the social context of Nkandla. The choice of words promotes an opposition to the ANC ideology by the writer and highlights the conflict and in-fighting for the reader and voter.

Micro-level Analysis:

Nominalisation

A nominalisation process is not evident in this article that absolves the ANC of any action. The sentences are constructed through direct quotes where actions are ascribed directly to the actors, so agency and causality are clear.

Active and Passive Voice

Firstly, agent phrase is clear and actions are attributed directly to the actors, for example Paragraph 3 indicates "...Zuma's attempt to fix the country and leave a legacy will be derailed by party infighting and factional battles". This shows that the fighting is directly attributed to the ANC. The active voice of the journalist is also expressed, for example, by articulating the thrust to save Zuma from the "...embarrassment' of mustering less than 60% of the vote" (Paragraph 6). The stance of the writer is clear in paragraph 7 as it states, "friend and foe alike are publicly supporting the president, knowing that they should not alienate the ANC rank and file, if their ambition is to lead the party in the future". Finally, the slant towards journalistic opinion points to an ideological writer position, highlighting objection and depicting the ANC behaviour as flawed as witnessed in Paragraph 8:

Although Nkandlagate, the divisions within Cosatu, calls for a "No Vote" by ANC stalwarts and the rise of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) are likely to make inroads into the governing party's majority, it is highly unlikely that the ANC will not be returned to power after May 7.

It appears that highlighting corruption (Nkandla) and the no-vote by stalwarts does not resonate with the thinking of the writer, hence the articulation that regardless of these outcomes, the ANC will still win.

Modality

This article expresses the writer's authority regarding the truth and his or her assessment of situation and thus, expressive modality, uncovering speculation and writer opinion. Modal auxiliary verb 'will' is used extensively throughout the article in Paragraphs 3, 11, 12 and 18. For example "Zuma...will find it difficult to govern and his presidency will be scrutinised and questioned by his own party". This reveals growing necessity of political reform and the writer's indication of it actually happening.

Paragraph 7 uses ‘should not’ to express the writer’s opinion as follows: “Friend and foe alike are publicly supporting the president, knowing that they should not alienate the ANC rank and file...”. It signposts that they ought not to separate from the ANC if they want to further their political aspirations.

Other modal auxiliary verbs include ‘could’ in ‘But ANC deputy president Cyril Ramaphosa’s perceived closeness to Zuma and involvement with the Marikana massacre could count against him if the other factions dominate the party’s conference’ (Paragraph 21), reporting the writer’s assessment of the situation and commitment to the statement.

Throughout the article, there is no hedging or distancing from the statements made. Thus, truth is upheld in the intonation.

Relational Values

The formality of the context is not reflected in the tone in the article. Less formal choice of words characterises the writer’s tone such as “lame-duck president, party infighting, rebellious factions, Zuma’s incessant criticism, problematic and dispensable” (in relation to Zuma). However, the absence of pronouns signals the writer not speaking for the reader or the paper.

Quotations

Only three direct quotes are provided, that is, one critical of Zuma by a veteran ANC MP in Paragraph 4; one regarding ANC Secretary General Gwede Mantashe by a senior ANC source in Paragraph 17; and one in support of Zuma by an NEC member in Paragraph 27. These quotations are positioned in the beginning and at the end of the article. There are no quotes that express a balanced perspective; the aforementioned ones only serve to amplify the writer’s argument.

Metaphors

The noun “lame-duck” in the heading and Paragraph 10 is used to relay that Zuma’s term is drawing to a close. “Parapet” in Paragraph 7 shows a constructed or imposed barrier for the factions in KwaZulu Natal, that they are not prepared to rise above it to oppose Zuma, or that they are being oppressed. These metaphors contain symbolic meaning that project Zuma in a negative light and create a critical view of the ANC.

Sentence Links

In Paragraph 6 “a lot of energy and effort are being spent on traditional Zuma’s KwaZulu Natal stronghold, which in the 2009 election brought in large numbers for the ANC, even though the party’s support dipped in other provinces”. The first clause has prominent information, connected by ‘even though’ while the second clause becomes secondary as it is subordinating and shows opposition. The idea is that, notwithstanding decreased support in other provinces, the most effort is being expended in his home - KZN.

In Paragraph 8, conjunction ‘although’ in “Although Nkandlagate...it is highly unlikely that the ANC will not be returned to power after May 7”, shows writer opposition at the beginning of the sentence and is subordinate. The latter part is the main clause wherein the prominent information is placed. “Although” reinforces the impact of Nkandla or lack thereof.

4.4.3.2.1 Overall tonality of Article 2

CDA categories of headlines, lexical style, active voice, metaphors and sentence link point to writer opinion in the article. The style of writing appears to an opposed ANC ideology. Although truthful and balanced to the extent of presenting the views of the ANC, bias against the ANC was evident. The use of words such as “lame duck”, “parapet” and “embarrassing” preclude independence. The tone has the capacity to sway readers to the writer’s direction of thought and to incline towards a negative social position on the ANC.

4.2.3.3 Article 3: 25/04/14

Presentation of the Article

Headline: “Vavi ‘forced’ to campaign” (Page 1)
“Forced to sing ANC praises” (Page 2)

Sub heading: “He will be compelled to read from prepared notes to convince workers to vote ANC (Page 1)

“Vavi is back in the fold, and is being compelled to wave the ruling party’s Pom-poms” (Page 2)

Reporter: Matuma Letsoalo (The report does not indicate if this is a staff reporter or commentator).

Type of article and layout: This aforementioned headline is the main front page headline with the article featured on page 2. The headline occupies the length of the page, is in bold black sentence case and approximately 36 points in font size. Below and to the left are two other

articles. The article at the bottom of the page is a human interest election analysis headline in small print. On page 2, there is a horizontal coloured photo at the top of the page of Vavi at a podium. Below is Headline 2 which is in bold black sentence case and approximately 24 points in font size.

Summary: This article summarises Cosatu General Secretary Zwelinzima Vavi's predicament in being mandated to campaign for the ANC by Cosatu President, Sdumo Dlamini for the elections. This is despite his criticism of the ANC regarding the R246 million upgrade of Zuma's private residence in Nkandla, the ANC's National Development Plan, the introduction of e-tolls and the continuation of labour brokers.

CDA Categories:

Macro-level analysis:

Context

This is an election related report published prior to the elections. The theme of this article is Congress of South African Trade Unions' (Cosatu) General Secretary Zwelinzima Vavi's coercion into campaigning for the ANC by Cosatu President, Sdumo Dlamini. The setting is a May Day rally in Port Elizabeth. The main actors include Vavi, the general secretary of Cosatu, Cosatu President Sdumo Dlamini, Irvin Jim of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) and South African Transport and Allied Workers' Union (Satawu) secretary general Zenzo Mahlangu. Their actions are highlighted through direct quotes and descriptions of their actions by the writer. For example, Numsa's Jim view is paraphrased in Paragraph 21: "he said Vavi should deal with workers' issues at the May Day Rally on Thursday, rather than campaigning for the ANC". The article lacks explanatory background information except for a brief highlighting of the Nkandla scandal and recapitulating the 1994 elections and that it will be the toughest poll for the ANC since then.

Headlines

The title "Vavi 'forced' to campaign" and the headline on page 2 are bold and striking. The headline is edifying and conveys the gist of the article. The headings together with both sub-headings essentially imply a perspective of the writer through the use of the verb 'forced' in quotation marks. It negatively portrays Cosatu, and by extension the ANC. The use of 'compelled' is an adverse depiction of Cosatu.

Lexical Style

The lead Paragraph 1 is expressed as a single sentence that neatly encapsulates the main points of the news story. It is a complex sentence that articulates the schematic categories of the CDA through the use of euphemisms such as “shaky truce” and “good story” in quotation marks. It highlights the writer’s position and can, thus, affect the reader’s interpretation. It reads:

Contrary to the public relations script of a ceasefire following a shaky truce, Cosatu has resorted to compelling its reluctant general secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi, to read from prepared notes and tell the ANC’s “good story” in what is left of the election campaign.

The assemblage of these words convey a tone that the consensus with Cosatu and Vavi is not amicable. It is clear that the use of “public relations script; “shaky truce”; “compelling Vavi” and “good story” in inverted commas is sardonic, signposting the angle of the writer while informing. “Good story” is satirical because the political context shows that the ANC under President Zuma has been plagued by corruption and maladministration. “Shaky truce” paradoxically shows the resolution reached with Cosatu is not as stable as indicated by the actors and is verified by the quotes of all relevant sources. Also, the placement of certain verbs and nouns illuminate the actions of Cosatu. The headline and the use of the stative verb “forced” and auxiliary verb “being compelled” (sub-heading 2) conveys forceful actions of Cosatu, presenting the perspective of a negative action. The use of the noun “pom-poms” (sub-heading 2) is symbolic for campaigning (cheering) for the ANC. It is also satirical in tone, given the acrimonious relationship between Vavi and the ANC. Nevertheless, the style of this article informs the reader. There is much paraphrasing in the report without quotes to substantiate, for example Paragraphs 1-7 are paraphrased with no quotes by sources. Only Paragraphs 8-35 include direct quotes.

Micro-level Analysis:

Nominalisation

There is no nominalisation process evident in this article. Actions are directly ascribed to the actors, for example Paragraph 1 ascribes the action of compelling Vavi to campaign for the ANC directly to Cosatu.

Active and Passive Voice

It is written in an active voice in that the agent’s role is clear and actions are directly attributed to the actors in the report. For example, Paragraph 9, “but Dlamini is adamant that Vavi will carry forward the mandate of Cosatu and campaign for the ANC”, shows a clear agent’s role.

The writer also writes in an active voice in the first part of the article, showing Cosatu forcing Vavi to campaign. For example, the lead sentence (see Lexical style) expresses writer opinion by suggesting that Vavi is being forced “to read from prepared notes” to campaign for the ANC.

Modality

This article is indicative of expressive modality in that the article is a representation of the truth by the writer who vocalizes the main theme and the sequence of events through the actions of the actors. Modal auxiliary verbs articulated by the writer that show relational modality include the use of ‘will’ by the Cosatu president in Paragraph 2 indicating Vavi “...will be forced to convince workers to vote ANC”; “...Vavi will carry forward the mandate of Cosatu and campaign for the ANC” (Paragraph 9); and “all our leaders will tell workers why it is important to vote for the ANC” (Paragraph 13). ‘Should’ is used in Paragraph 13 in the following way: “we should tell them we expect the ANC to implement issues that we have raised...”. These modal auxiliary verbs demonstrate the authority of Cosatu over the other participants. The writer is committed to the statements (title, sub-headings and Paragraphs 1-7) with no hedging.

Relational Values

The wording in Paragraph 1 (contrary to the public relation script and tell the ANC’s “good story”) shows that the writer has candidly opted for a less formal choices in highlighting the context and the role of the actors within. Although there is no speaking for the reader through the use of inclusive pronouns such as ‘we’, there are ideological underpinnings of the writer opposing the dogmatic approach of Numsa. The writer appears to oppose the dominant approach regarding elections of the ANC.

Quotations

Quotations are direct and placed in the middle and at the end of the article. The views of all relevant participants are incorporated to provide legitimacy, balance, credibility and a comprehensive account of events. It shows that the writer has access to all the relevant sources. The quotes help interpret the events unfolding and gives the reader the space to formulate their own opinions as the sources quoted are prominent figures and relevant to the story. For example, Paragraph 22 states in relation to Numsa’s Jim, “it doesn’t matter if he campaigns or not. No amount of good or bad things will change the views of his enemies”. The view of Vavi is indicated in Paragraph 29: “attacks on my person by some or putting pressure on me to break ranks with Cosatu to support the [ANC] is not fair. The good story of the ANC is paradoxical given the cases of corruption and poor governance as explicated by Vavi in

Paragraphs 5-7. It comes close to an ideological position of the writer whose words ironically oppose the corruption and poor governance of the good story.

Metaphors

“Shaky truce” is oxymoronic on account of the weakness attached to the truce – a truce is a positive noun that implies harmony. In this context, the truce is feeble. To “wave the ruling party’s pom-poms” is satirical given that Vavi does not support the ANC. Paragraphs 5-8 neatly outline the reason why Vavi is opposed to the ANC including the issues of lack of jobs and the scandal of Nkandla, among others. Being compelled to wave pom-poms symbolically indicates the dominance forced by Cosatu, compelling him to support a political ideology that does not resonate with Vavi’s beliefs.

Sentence Links

There are no sentence links in terms of Fairclough (1989) that impute any unethical writing in the context of this study. All sentences stand independently.

4.2.3.3.1 Overall tonality of Article 3

The lead paragraph signals writer opinion written in the active voice. Relational values and informal use of words such as “shaky truce” convey a negative tonality in disagreement with the dominant approach to elections by the ANC. “Good story” of the ANC is a sardonic paradox in light of corruption and poor governance as explicated by Vavi. It shows an underlying ideological position opposed to corruption and poor governance and bias against the ANC ideology.

4.2.3.4 Article 4 (2//04/14)

Presentation of the Article

Headline: “Maharaj for minister of propaganda” (Headline Page1)

“Mac the mouth to oversee Zuma’s legacy” (Headline Page 2)

Sub-heading: “Restructuring after the poll to include a ministry of information headed by Mac to clean up Zuma’s image, and Baleka Mbete as second deputy president (Sub-heading Page1)

“A restructuring of the Cabinet is on the cards, with a new information ministry and second deputy president” (Sub-heading Page 2)

Reporter: Mmanaledi Mataboge (The report does not indicate if this is a staff reporter or commentator)

Type of article and layout: This is the main report at the top of the front page which is a *Mail & Guardian* election special and continues to pages 2 and 3. Below are six election reports. The headline on the front page is in bold black sentence case and is approximately 36 points. The subheading is approximately 8 points and not highlighted. There is one vertical photo on the front page of presidential spokesperson Mac Maharaj, placed at the far right corner of the page. On page 2, there is a coloured photo of Maharaj and a new Director General, while a coloured photo of President Zuma and Baleka Mbete is placed on page 3. These images have an information function and give the reader an indication as to who the main actors are.

Summary: Succinctly, it informs of a new information ministry as a central source of communication and information to improve government communication by President Zuma. The article also indicates that the aim is “re-imaging his administration” (Paragraph 5) in the likelihood he will serve another term as president. It summaries the imminent restructuring of Zuma’s cabinet which includes a second deputy minister and Mac Maharaj as the new information minister.

CDA Categories:

Macro-level Analysis

Context

This is an election related article published five days prior to the May 7 election. The main actors President Zuma, his spokesperson Mac Maharaj, ANC head of communications Lindiwe Zulu and other unnamed senior government officials. Their roles are specified by the writer by highlighting their functions in government such as in Paragraph 2, which indicates that “his spokesperson Mac Maharaj, is earmarked to become the minister of information...”. Their actions and opinions are directly quoted or paraphrased, for example Paragraph 21 indicates the opinion of a senior government official that “Zuma feels he has gotten a raw deal in his first term. If you look at service delivery, he has not done very badly but it is the scandals that are remembered”. Explanatory background information that provides context for the reader includes references to Zuma’s first term and his scandals in Paragraph 22. Paragraphs 26 and 27 reference past history, for example, the information ministry of 1970 in the John Vorster cabinet (Paragraph 26).

Lexical style

The headlines, the organisation of the main theme (new information ministry) and explanatory past information convey a negative tonality in the article. Although it is based on verifiable data, the article does perpetuate the ideology of the writer. It evocatively delivers a negative subtext on the ANC. The lead is a single complex sentence, conveying the macro-structure of the story by alluding to past history (five years of crisis management). It is succinct, clear and eye-catching, serving as a catalyst for the story. All relevant information is provided in terms of the five W's and 1H, that is, who, what, where, when, why and how. The 'who' is Mac Maharaj; 'what' is the new information ministry; 'where' is in government; 'when' is after elections; and why is to improve government communications and Zuma's image.

The headline immediately creates a negative impression of the information ministry and thus, the ANC through the use of the provocative word 'propaganda'. The term propaganda is linked to biased and oftentimes misleading information, concomitant to political institutions. There is a negative social connotation, widely associated with the spreading of biased doctrines of political parties. Also, the repetitive use of "propaganda ministry" in describing the information ministry in the headline and text (Paragraphs 3) as well as describing it as the "nerve centre of government propaganda (paragraph 14) is redolent, derisive and leads the reader. We can accordingly detect the derisive undertone of the journalist, that is, the negative view of the proposed information ministry which makes it challenging for the reader to objectively formulate an unbiased interpretation of the ministry.

The use of the adjective 'clandestinely' describes the actions of the previous information minister, Connie Mulder in Paragraph 16, suggesting covert and illegal actions and is therefore, writer opinion. Further, the inclusion and positioning of this past history, juxtaposing it with the proposed ministry demonstrates the failure of such a ministry and therefore suggests that a new one will not necessarily result in a positive outcome.

The headline on page 2 refers to Maharaj as "Mac the Mouth". In this context, the noun 'mouth' is suggestive of Maharaja's skill to orate and the application of the noun phrase presupposes that verbosity is synonymous with the main actor. It is not a positive association and the writer seems to suggest to the reader that the ministry is not a progressive move by the state.

Quotations are placed from the middle onwards, to the end of the article, and are used in conjunction with paraphrasing. The first 10 Paragraphs are paraphrased and skilfully convey the opinions of the writer. This contributes to the overall tone of a negative approximation of the new information ministry and thus the ANC, by the writer.

Headlines

The headlines are striking. It is suggestive in its reference to “minister of propaganda” and can influence how the event is defined for the reader in that it immediately creates a harmful impression of the new information ministry and which straightaway associates the adverse action with the ANC. The subheadings uphold the information function of the article as they neatly outline the main themes of the article. They summarise the most important aspects, that is, the restructuring of Cabinet and the proposed information ministry.

Micro-level Analysis:

Nominalisation

A nominalisation process is not evident in this article. The sentences are constructed through direct quotes and actions are ascribed directly to the actors, so, agency and causality are clear.

Active and Passive Voice

The article is written using the active voice of the journalist. References are repetitively made to “propaganda ministry” and “nerve centre of government propaganda” by the writer which denote a biased view. Comparisons are drawn in Paragraph 26 with the last information ministry in 1970 and the subsequent scandal of 1977 that culminated in the downfall of Vorster’s government. It points to an ideological perspective of the writer which shows that the social context of the writer has influence on the script of this article. Past history shows that the previous administration supported the ideology of apartheid. This clearly does not resonate with the ideologies of the writer, hence the negative undertone in addition to making known the past history of the Vorster cabinet. Paragraph 26 reads:

But the propaganda war that it launched on behalf of the apartheid state ended in the Muldergate scandal, named after the information minister in the John Vorster cabinet, Connie Mulder. Mulder clandestinely used millions of rands in secret funds to set up front companies and establish the *Citizen* newspaper (Paragraph 26).

Although suggestive, it does not speak for the reader in the inclusive ‘we’ or ‘us’ and does not tell the reader not to support the ANC. The sentences are active and actions are ascribed directly to the writer and actors.

Modality

This article uses expressive modality – it is the writer’s evaluation of the truth. The reader is exposed to the writer’s appraisal of the information ministry and the suggestion of propaganda, coupled with comparisons with the failed 1970’s one. A modal auxiliary verb relevant for verbalising expressive modality and the writer’s evaluation is ‘will’ in Paragraph 23 which reads as follows: “Government departments will still have their own communication but the information department will be the “key state propaganda machinery”. ‘Will’ implies assurance that the ministry will supplement the other government departments but also derisively calls it the ‘main’ propaganda instrument which has a negative subtext.

The writer also commits to the statements made confidently, with no hedging, for example Paragraph 1 shows a bold statement as follows: “after five years of crisis management and hopping from one scandal to another, President Jacob Zuma wants an information ministry, based on the Zimbabwean, Chinese and Russian models, to clean up his image”. The impudent descriptions of “crisis management”, “scandal” and “clean up his image” enhance the overall negative tone in the article.

Relational Values

Less formal vocabulary is used in addressing participants, for example presidential spokesperson Mac Maharaj labelled as “Mac the mouth”, “propaganda ministry” and “first-term mess”, imparts lack of reverence by the writer. However, there is no speaking for the reader through the use of inclusive pronouns such as ‘we’ or ‘us’.

Quotations

Quotations are used directly in the article from Paragraphs 10 to 43 (last paragraph). The views of all members of the Cabinet are included which contributes to an overall informative and verifiable article. It shows the writer accessed all important sources and gives the reader enough detail so the reader can ultimately draw their own conclusions. For example, Paragraph 18 cites the opinion of a senior official who states “the model used by the Chinese and the Russians in particular, has impressed us...also, how the United States influenced public opinion on its war in Iraq”. The opinion of Mac Maharaj is also included in Paragraph 10: “...Maharaj said the mooted ministry is “totally out of my knowledge” ”.

Metaphors

“Mac the mouth” is a representation of Mac Maharaj as the orator of Zuma’s cabinet. “Propaganda war” (Paragraph 26) is essentially a war based on advancing bias doctrines and philosophies. In the context, it points to the conflict it created with trying to use propaganda to create a positive image of the state – promoting the ideology of apartheid - in a campaign to use state millions to bribe the press, stoking them to write positive stories about government.

Sentence Links

In the context of this article, necessary links include “Zulu said the ANC had discussed possible ways of improving government communication because its weakness is “a sore point in the ANC” (Paragraph 12). The first clause is the prominent clause by subordinating conjunction ‘because’. The use of ‘because’ serves to supplement the first part by explaining the reasons for a prospective information ministry by ANC head of communications Lindiwe Zulu which underscores the weakness of government communication by the writer.

The article also discusses Zuma’s plans for a second deputy president in Paragraph 32, according to a presidency source, justified by the explanation that only a deputy is senior enough to oversee the performance of ministers. Paragraph 33 corroborates: “this is the main reason why Zuma’s government is considering the position, although his office has denied this”. The use of the conjunction ‘although’ is correlative, stressing a negation of a second deputy president.

4.2.3.4.1 Overall tonality of Article 4

The headlines, the main theme (new information ministry) and explanatory background information convey a negative tonality of the ANC. The headline is evocative, creating an acrimonious attitude towards the proposed information ministry and thus, the ANC. Past context shows that the previous administration supported the ideology of apartheid which does not resonate with the ideologies of the writer, hence the use of the negative propaganda. Sentence links highlight the weakness of government communication. Although balanced with no untruths, it was not an independent article and attaches a negative implication to the ministry, bias against the ANC and the ability to influence how the event is defined for the reader.

4.3 ETHICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE ARTICLES ANALYSED: TRUTH, BALANCE AND INDEPENDENCE

This section is an evaluation of the above articles in accordance with the ethical dimensions of truth, balance and independence deriving from the macro and micro-level analysis of the CDA. It is underscored by the guiding principles of Black, Steele and Barney (1995) in Chapter 1 which define truth and independence, whilst Stroud and Reese (sa) define balance for this study - for the goal of determining unethical election reporting. These dimensions are applied to each article for the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* respectively. The section concludes with an overall ethical assessment of all three papers.

4.3.1 Assessment of truth, balance and independence in the *City Press*

Article 1

In relation to Black et al's., (1995) dimension of truth and seeking to report the truth as fully as possible, engaging, educating and informing the public, being honest, interpreting accurate information and holding the powerful to account, the report has met the requirements. The CDA assessment shows that the writer informs the reader of the concern at the SABC by publicising the relevant facts in bulleted form, corroborated by quotes from sources on both sides and references to past election events which contributes to accuracy and comprehensiveness. The public is engaged and informed and truth is observed.

Balance is upheld where both the SABC board and opposing staff are both given the platform to respond to allegations made by the staff. Direct quotes from the SABC spokesperson are available for the reader to verify and the chief operating officer was also asked for an opinion but did not respond, according to the report. The reader, is thus, able to make an informed opinion based on balanced information.

It is the findings of this analysis that independence is not observed by the writer. This is based on the assessment of the tonality which signals reporter bias toward the SABC staff even though it was truthful and balanced. The CDA highlights a style which paraphrases the predicament of the SABC staff in the first half of the article. Sources from the SABC management are quoted towards the end of the report. The writer highlights that the SABC orchestrates unfair broadcasting practices, enabling the reader to form an opinion before reading both sides of the story. The article further expresses the writer's opinion through the use of the verbs "spoke" on condition of anonymity for the "fear of losing their jobs"

(Paragraph 4); “fight back” (Paragraph 7); and “adopted’ an extensive resolution” (Paragraph 20), indicate the writer’s active voice and a propensity towards the staff. The headline also negatively portrays the SABC for the reader as explicated in the analysis.

Article 2

In this report, all relevant details comprising the voices of those opposed to a coalition within the said parties are contained, including anonymous sources. It is a comprehensive account incorporating direct quotes, where paraphrased sections include quotation marks for quoting sources. The sub-headings are thorough and informative. To the extent that it reported events in the present context and did not reference past events that could signpost bias, in terms of Black et al., 1995), it was truthful and informed and educated the public on an election issue.

It provided balance by giving voice to the two main opposition parties cited in the report – the EFF and the DA. It accessed all relevant actors by quoting them and thus, presented both perspectives for the reader.

In terms of independence, the title is suggestive in that it underlyingly insinuates that the DA and EFF are contemplating an alliance. In the sub-heading, the use of “coalition” and “one way to go” and “challenge” is eye-catching and redolent, purporting the idea that a coalition is a means to challenge the ANC while upgrading a standard election report. Paragraph 3 which suggests a coalition government “will be necessary” if the ANC gets less than 50% support speaks to context as the ANC has always maintained a stronghold in elections. There is no substantiation beyond this comment. The remainder of the report is bereft of the writer’s personal opinion and support for any political party and is therefore, an independent piece.

Article 3

Article 3 explicates the details of the campaign trail by the ANC, DA and the EFF in three sub-articles. Each political party’s final campaign is reported individually. In all the three reports, quotations from relevant sources are used to verify events. A staunch reliance on statistics and past history such as the comparison of the 2009 elections with representations of events in 2014 is conspicuous. The accompanying nine pictures in total confirm the events depicted, and contribute to the information function and veracity for the public. However, there is an element of subjectivity in Article 3(1) where the writer criticises the opposition and their election manifestos, accusing them of a cover-up. This is not supported by verifiable facts in the article. It inclines more towards writer speculation and is thus not an impartial assessment of the

opposition. It highlights ideological biased support for the ANC while displaying disparagement and contempt for the opposition parties. This tone by the writer indicates press bias. The unsubstantiated criticism attacking the policies and campaigns of the political opposition as a justification for the Nkandla scandal by the writer is subjective and not supported by factual data. There is no proof that the criticisms of Zuma by the opposition are a camouflage for poor manifesto and is a purely subjective statement.

However, the writer statement does not detract from the truth of the event and explicates the sequence of events that took place to perform an information role by informing on Zuma's last campaign prior to elections. In terms of the Press Code (2016), the article, although inflammatory, does not constitute hate speech. As a general statement, it does not single out a party to harm their dignity or slander their reputation. Furthermore, it is unclear as to which party is being criticised. The article in terms of the Bill of Rights, does not incite any form of violence or harm any of the actors. Furthermore, this researcher contends that readers and/or voters, at this stage in the elections, are provided with enough information socially, in other newspapers and in the broadcast media (radio and television) and are thus learned enough to make informed opinions without being influenced by a subjective comment in a single article. Therefore in terms of Black et al., (1995), the article, although subjective, is not untruthful as it does not report any untruths pertaining to the event itself and meets the requirements of informing, educating and engaging the public.

Balance is questioned in the overall report, for example, voters' positive views on Zille are paraphrased in Article 3 (2) Paragraph 12, and in Article 3 (3) Paragraph 11 which suggest voters are not comfortable with Malema's speech. In Article 3(1) opposition parties are referenced, relative to Zuma's campaign and writer's critical opinion on them is further voiced in Paragraph 6. Yet, their opinions are not accessed to verify such censures. In line with Shroud and Reese (sa) these articles are unbalanced.

Independence is not observed in Article 3(1) Paragraph 6 where the writer describes the attacks on Zuma's Nkandla scandal as "deflection" to "cover up for the thinness of the manifestos and policy packages". This contrasts with Black et al's., (1995) directive of remaining free of associations that compromise the credibility of the report or the writer. At the time of this article, the Public Protector's report had already been released with verifiable data on the Nkandla upgrade being unlawful, so attacks on the opposition were unfounded. So, this election report, whilst truthful of ANC, DA and EFF campaigns, is not independent.

Article 4

This straight news report is based on the statistics of the Ipsos survey. The various parties are ascribed the platform to express their views on the eve of the election. It is informative and includes relevant fact-based information for the reader to help make informed voting decisions. The CDA shows that quotes include those of all participants and this gives credibility to the writer's account of the events. It shows that the writer has accessed all party positions which helps interpret the event and which has relevance for the reader and potential voter. Thus, consistent with Black et al., 1995), the information is reported precisely to inform and educate readers and is therefore, truthful.

It provides a balanced account of an election event, offering the perspectives of all competing parties through direct quotes, survey results for all parties, including the estimations of civil society through the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation.

In terms of Black et al., it is free of any political associations. Journalistic opinion is not expressed. It respects the formality of the situation which is beneficial for the voter who requires an impartial election assessment. No implicit writer authority is evident. Overall, it is an independent and comprehensive piece which relied on verifiable facts.

4.3.1.1 Overall ethical assessment of the *City Press*

It is the finding of this study that the four reports analysed, reported on the election events truthfully, using verifiable facts and sources. In terms of ethical reporting, Article 2 is a straightforward report that is truthful, balanced and independent. Although the headline, subheading and Paragraph 3 are suggestive of a DA and EFF coalition, the view of a coalition to challenge the ANC, in the context of the ANC as the main opposition, presents a concept to challenge a seemingly immutable situation. The headline grabs attention without the writer's opinion or any proclivities towards a particular political side. The analysis is not able to point to an unethical underpinning in the reportage.

However, articles 1 and 3 show biased predispositions. Article 1 is partial to the extent that the tonality negatively characterises the SABC. The CDA criteria verifies this claim through the criteria of headlines, active and passive voice and quotations. The first half of the report is paraphrased and quotes placed are at the latter part of the report which slant towards the SABC staff over the board. The professional ideology of the writer is noticeable in the tonality through the modality and active voice. But, according to the guiding principles of the Press

Code (2016), the article has reported the truth and is verifiable through comments from both parties. The lack of independence is not based on ‘speaking for the reader’ or endorsing a political party. It reflects the multiplicity of voices of both sides and is not untruthful or unlawful in terms of the code to argue that it is unethical.

Article 3 in totality is not neutral. There are three different writers whose opinions are observable through the CDA. Succinctly, this combined article reports the truth of the events that transpired, references past history, makes use of direct quotes and provides statistical data. However, writer bias is evident through the use of metaphors, sentence links, nominalisation, synonyms and modal auxiliary verbs. Article 3(2) positively represents Helen Zille by paraphrasing a supporter speaking positively of Zille. But, there is no perpetuation of the writer’s opinion or untruths and therefore, it cannot be assessed as unethical. Article 3(3) uses a negative tone for Malema’s campaign shown by the CDA through adjectives such as “lacklustre” campaign. However, it also does not report untruthfully or is not in the public interest. In terms of the Press Code (2016) it cannot be assessed as unethical.

Article 3(1) shows bias in favour of Zuma and the ANC – critical of the opposition rather than Zuma who is legitimately implicated in the Nkandla scandal based on the Public Protector’s report. The style of writing and language use, positively portrays Zuma as finally dealing with the various opposition parties and highlights the support he received. It highlights biased ideological inclinations in favour of the ANC, buttressing Zuma and slandering the opposition over Nkandla. It does not demonstrate independent writing or employ verifiable factual data in making the accusations against the opposition. Although a front page headline, writer opinion is expressed and is subjective. These accusations are not confirmed by the writer and the article does not provide the opinions of the opposition to counter the claim. It is a sweeping statement that does not single out a particular opposition party to harm the dignity. According to the Press Code (2016) it reports the truth by reporting the event of the campaign without inciting violence or harming the actors in the story. Therefore, in line with the CDA criteria, although without conforming to the guidelines of overall balanced and independent writing, it informs and keeps readers abreast, consistent with Black et al., (1997), and is not analysed as unethical.

Article 4 is neutral in tone – based on the Ipsos survey. It does not support a political party or show biased inclinations. This report does not contravene the preamble of the Press Code

(2016) and is largely truthful, balanced and independent. It reflects public interest and informs and educates and is therefore, not unethical.

4.3.2 Assessment of truth, balance and independence in the *Sunday Times*

Article 1

In relation to Black et al's., (1995) dimension of truth and seeking to report it as fully as possible; engaging, educating and informing the public; being honest; and interpreting accurate information, this article has met the criteria and fulfilled the necessary requirements. The coloured photo that accompanies the report verifies the occurrence of the event. The main actors, Zuma and Fransman, are pertinent sources. Paraphrasing of the event is followed by direct quotes so it corroborates Zuma's statements and contributes to the solidification of its veracity. It is therefore truthful to the extent of informing on the reader about Zuma's birthday celebrations in the Western Cape, outlining his actions and the goals of the ANC in the province, thus engaging and educating the reader on the election matter.

The DA who is criticised by the ANC is not given the space by the writer to respond to the allegations. Their standpoint would have contributed to presenting their side of events and thus, a balanced argument to fully inform the reader. Therefore, although the coverage is comprehensive, it is assessed as unbalanced.

For independence, the opinion of the journalist is expressed (Paragraphs 3) where the writer observes that Zuma's speech is a deviation from the standard style in previous rallies and adapted to accommodate the coloured people. Further, although it does not support a political party, it does evocatively express a negative writer position of the DA in paraphrased Paragraph 7, indicating that Zuma accuses the DA of not caring for coloured people. Although Zuma criticises the DA, it does not indicate in quotation marks that he accused them of "not caring" and is writer inflection. Paragraph 8 includes quotes of Zuma saying "this provincial government fails to support the minstrels...refuses to agree to the historical right to march" without a response from the DA to the accusations. Paraphrased Paragraph 10 highlights that the DA tried to close down 27 schools. The tonality is suggestive and delineates the contention in this analysis that this article is not independent.

Article 2

It is a straightforward election report that presents the facts of the *Sunday Times* Ipsos election survey. In accordance with Black et al., (1995), it is a clear representation of verifiable facts

that informs and educates the public. The information is based on statistical data of the survey and is, therefore, verifiable. It is fair in that all parties' rankings in the elections are publicised. Therefore, they meet the requirements of truth.

Balance is upheld by way of providing the statistics of and including all parties such as the ANC, DA, the EFF, the IFP, Agang, African Democratic Christian Party and National Freedom Party for data for the reader.

Independence is disputed in Paragraph 1 with the reference to the Nkandla scandal. There is an expectation that the disclosure of the scandal would negatively impact the ANC and cause loss of voter support which is presumed by the writer. By the writer developing Nkandla as a theme on a straightforward report of an election survey and the suggestion of the impact it should have had, he/she categorically expresses their opinion. The contention is that independence is not upheld.

Article 3

To verify the truthfulness of the report, the two photos published confirm the event in the story. Sources are directly quoted and an eye witness account authenticates the veracity of the event so the public is sufficiently informed. As in Black et al., (1995), it holds the powerful (ANC) officials culpable by exposing their misconduct. It thus conforms to the dimension of truth.

Balance is upheld where the platform is provided for two competing truths consistent with Stroud and Reese (sa). Sources from both sides are and allowed to communicate, including the victim (the reporter) and the ANC spokesperson and the Gauteng Traffic Department. Quotes are directly attributed to the actors and quotations are provided of all relevant parties to provide an accurate account.

The personal point of view of the writer is not direct but circuitously articulated in the tonality. The opinions of sources such as Sanef spokesperson, eNCA group news editor, the victim (journalist) and the ANC spokesman who all condemn the actions, are included. References to the ANC spokesperson acknowledging press freedom are publicised by the press. In addition to the images provided and an active writer voice, quotations show that independence is blurred. Although consistent with Black et al., (1995) where the stewardship role of the free press is defended, observing public interest and exposing the abuse of power, the report is emotive and predisposed to the afflicted reporter and the ideology of press freedom.

Article 4

The article marks a comprehensive reportage on the results of the *Sunday Times* survey which includes verifiable results, a comparative graphical image of the 2009 election result and the 2014 March and April surveys, to adequately inform and educate readers and voters. The CDA analysis shows that the writer has accessed all relevant sources including the opinions of academic scholars and political analysts in addition to the voices of the political parties highlighting truth and balance. It highlights the statistics for the leading parties while also including those of the smaller parties such as COPE, Freedom Party, Pan Africanist Congress and IFP, among others. It does not promote any journalistic opinions through the use of metaphors, sentence links and modality, for instance, to indicate bias. It offers the reader an informed perspective which fosters journalistic independence. Therefore in terms of the checklist of Black et al., (1995) and with Shroud and Reese (sa), this report is truthful, balanced and independent.

4.3.2.1 Overall ethical assessment of the *Sunday Times*

All four *Sunday Times* articles analysed in the sections above are hard news election articles that report the facts of election events. In terms of the CDA analysis, relevant sources are accessed and quoted for a truthful account. But, Article 4 (4 May, 2014) is the only neutral report that contains the results of the Ipsos survey. Three of the four reports show a degree of bias that is implicitly articulated. These include Article 1, where the tonality shows a more positively positioned ANC, accentuating the DA's shortcomings without the benefit of quoting them for a balanced view. However, this researcher argues that this article has an obligation in the public interest to highlight such shortfalls. The issues of education (closing of schools), gangsterism and crime are problematic social concerns, and thus, their depiction cannot be dubbed as untruthful or superfluous writing. Also, emphasising these issues gives the ANC campaign perspective for the reader, where the writer is informing on the reasons behind the ANC decision to campaign in the Cape Flats (these include awareness of the highlighted social problems and support for the Coloured people – as indicated by Zuma). Highlighting the DA shortfalls cannot be argued as unethical because the social problems are existent and factual. According to Thloloe (2012), it is in the public interest and describing information “of legitimate interest or importance to citizens”. It is thus the contention that this report is not unethical.

Article 2 (20 April, 2014) has a negative undertone in the headline on Nkandla and in references throughout the report, indicating that it did not affect ANC support which it presumed to have. Its negative undertone implicitly promotes an ideological opposition to the ANC. To impute an unethical evaluation is complex because the article highlighting Nkandla takes into account the context of corruption associated with it. Any reasonable argument would have to consider that the Nkandla scandal could negatively impact voter support for the ANC. The writer of the article is providing the reader with a possible outcome, that is, a decline in support, as projected by the booing. The article is therefore, although subliminally not independent, not measured as unethical.

Article 3 (27 April) negatively represents the ANC highlighting the mistreatment of a reporter at the hands of an ANC VIP protection officer. Ideologies of press freedom by direct quotes (“people must not interfere with journalists while they are working. We uphold the rights and freedoms of the media”, Paragraph 14), are incorporated to enforce press freedom. The apparent affinity with the journalist is revealed in the tonality, showing the actions of the ANC member as erroneous. But the CDA criteria shows that the writer is not unethical because the facts point to coercive behaviour and the writer is not reporting this unlawfully. Concern is displayed for the welfare of the journalist accosted while simultaneously emphasising discrimination and violence and upholding public interest according to the Press code (2016). The discourse is still informed by truth and balance and does not point either explicitly or implicitly, toward unethical conduct.

Although it is clear that the *Sunday Times* shows a degree of bias in three of the four reports, the lack of balance and independence in Article 1 and lack of independence in Articles 1, 2 and 3, it does not deter from the depiction of veracity of the election event reported, promotes an “us versus them” ideology or speaks for or leads the reader, to be measured as unethical.

4.3.3 Assessment of truth, balance and independence in the *Mail & Guardian*

Article 1

In relation to Black et al’s., (1995) dimension of truth and seeking to report the truth as fully as possible, engaging, educating and informing the public and interpreting accurate information, this report has met the requirements. The 3 coloured photos corroborate the story and the headlines, and gives meaning to the event. Actors’ opinions are included in inverted commas so their views are not a retelling from the writer’s viewpoint. In terms of the micro-

analysis categories, it does not show bias and deviations from the truth. Therefore, it is truthful to the extent that it reports on the event comprehensively and engages, informs and educates the public on an election issue.

For independence, there is no position of the paper or journalist expressed. The writer respects the formality of the situation without an implicit writer voice. It is independent and in terms of Black et al., (1995), the newspaper remains divorced from any political associations.

It upholds balanced as both relevant parties voice their opinions in the report. Both those that support Vavi and those in Cosatu who oppose him are allowed to provide reasons for their respective stances on the political truce. The main actor, Vavi, is also allocated space to articulate his views from Paragraphs 24 to 29. For balance, it meets all the requirements of juxtaposing two opposing claims and providing both perspectives which ties in with Stroud and Reese (sa).

Article 2

For an overt representation of truth, the positions of both pro and anti-Zuma supporters are presented, that is, the NEC members who support him and those opposing him such as the EFF, Cosatu and ANC stalwarts, to fully inform voters. The actors are quoted directly. Background information including the 2009 elections and 2012 Mangaung Conference gives the voter background information about the shift in the relationships between Zuma and the ANC. Therefore in terms of Black et al., (1995) the article comprehensively informs, engages and educates the reader or voter about President Zuma's dilemma ahead of the elections. It uses verifiable information and is a truthful account.

For independence, it does not endorse any political party but is also not autonomous to the extent of expressing journalistic opinion. This is structured along the context of the impending problem of a new cabinet for Jacob Zuma and his past corruption charges. Metaphors such as "lame duck", sentence links and that the estimation that a less than 60% vote would be an "embarrassment", point to journalistic opinion. The tone of the article by the organisation of the quotes, metaphors and modalities presents a negative writer assessment of both Zuma and the ANC. The report is, therefore, not assessed as independent.

Balance is upheld in that, while expressing an opinion, it also provides all points of view - both pro and anti-Zuma. It provides comprehensive details of the associated problems of a new cabinet and incorporates direct quotes.

Article 3

Truth is sustained to the extent that the article provides relevant information including comprehensive information of Vavi's disposition regarding Cosatu and the ANC, and explanatory background information (Nkandla). Both those in support of and in opposition to Vavi are quoted. In accordance with Black et al., (1995), it is truthful to the extent of providing all the relevant facts, reporting comprehensively, providing background information and quoting relevant sources. It engages, informs and educates the reader and wider electorate.

For independence, an evocative tone is evident in the title, Paragraph 1 and subtly, in the sentence connections. Paragraph 1 indicates the position of the journalist in the sardonic tone with words such as "public relations script", "shaky truce", "resorted to compelling", "reluctant", and "good story" emphasised in inverted commas, shows irony. The tone has the capacity to sway readers in the writer's direction of thought and is likely to impel readers to assume a negative social position of the ANC. It thus, cannot be assessed as independent.

Although it implicitly expresses writer opinion, it is balanced, as it by presents both sides of the argument and offers both pro and anti-Vavi supporters the platform to express their views.

Article 4

Truth is palpable to the extent that it reports the facts, that is, details on the new information ministry as part of the restructuring of cabinet. CDA categories confirm truth, for example, modality (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002) shows the writer committing to the statements made. Quotes are contained in quotation marks and include all sources involved in the cabinet restructure. It informs the reader, provides background information, and does not show any implicit writer authority by speaking for the reader.

For independence, the use of propaganda ministry imparts a negative writer undertone. The information ministry is slated at the outset in the headline and then through constant references to "propaganda ministry" by the writer throughout the article. Propaganda has a negative connotation with the capacity to impinge on the reader's individual evaluation of the event and therefore, attaches adverse meaning to the new ministry. Paragraph 1 also indicates opinion

by pointing to “five years of mismanagement and scandals”. The writer expresses an opinion of the previous ministry (Paragraph 26-7) through the use of “propaganda war”. Although it is thorough and backed by verifiable facts, journalistic opinion is palpable. In terms of “stepping back from own personal interest”, according to Black et al., (1995), it is not independent.

Balance is applied in that the opinions of both sides are provided, it references the previous information ministry and provides detailed information on all the possible appointments. It not only reports on the negative impact of Zuma’s past scandals but also provides reasoned information on the restructuring of Cabinet which progresses government developmental goals for the public.

4.3.3.1 Overall ethical assessment of the *Mail & Guardian*

All four *Mail & Guardian* articles analysed provide verifiable information, past history to the reader and draws deeply from sources. All uphold truth and balance. However, Article 2, 3 and 4 assume a negative tone through the use of metaphors, sentence links, headlines, lexical style and the degree of authority in the statement in modality. The gap in independence in the *Mail & Guardian* (Articles 2, 3 and 4) is linked to ANC corruption and maladministration. But, it does not speak for the reader, promote any other political party in its criticism of the ANC or write untruthfully. Article 2 is critical of the ANC through the tonality and portrays President Zuma unfavourably through a subjective interpretation on his second term. The suggestive tone is created by highlighting the corruption and in-fighting, creating a negative overtone of the ANC which shows implicit writer ideology opposing the ANC. Although metaphors and sentence links point to a negative subtext, the report is in the public interest and accesses all relevant actors. It does not unlawfully address the political problems and is not unethical.

Article 3 also shows biased nuances regarding Vavi being forced to campaign for the ANC by Numsa at the May Day Rally. Although it articulates Vavi’s position without the position of the newspaper, there is much paraphrasing from Paragraphs 1-7. The choice of headline, metaphors, modal auxiliary verbs and active voice adds to a negative association with the ANC and Cosatu. According to the Press Code (2016) it is a fact-based article, informs the public and does not harm any of the participant in the story. It is therefore, not analysed as unethical

Article 4 is highly suggestive. Although it provides a detailed explanation for the proposed ministry, it does negatively refer to it as a propaganda ministry. It accesses past history on the 1977 ministry highlighting the scandal and also emphasising Zuma's "first-term mess" and "hopping from one scandal to another". The tonality evident through the headline, modality, metaphors and sentence links creates an overall negative estimation of the ANC and shows writer ideology that does not support the political principles of the ANC. The overall tonality is negative of the ANC. But, it advances developmental journalism goals to the extent of informing and educating the public on the modifications to improve the functioning of government. References to the past information ministry is important contextual information for the public. From an ethical standpoint, it serves the public interest and is not, although critical, morally unethical.

4.3.4. Conclusion of the ethical assessment of the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian*

In conclusion to this section, according to the guiding principles of Black et al., (1995), the generalised quantities of the findings are that:

- All twelve articles of the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* were overall truthful.
- Two of the twelve articles were not balanced, that is, Article 3 of the *City Press* (27 April) and Article 1 of the *Sunday Times* (13 April). Therefore, the CDA analysis showed that there were eight balanced articles in this study.
- Eight of the twelve articles were not independent which included:
 - Article 1 (13 April 2014) and Article 3 (27 April) of the *City Press*;
 - Article 1 (13 April), Article 2 (20 April) and Article 3 (April 27) of the *Sunday Times*;
 - Article 2 (17 April), Article 3 (25 April) and Article 4 (2 May) of the *Mail & Guardian*.
 Therefore, there were only four articles that were independent, according to the CDA.
- It was also noted that only four of the twelve articles were completely neutral and thus, a total of eight article lacked neutrality. The neutral articles included:
 - Article 2 (20 April) and Article 4 (4 May) of the *City Press*;
 - Article 4 of the *Sunday Times* (4 May);
 - Article 1 (11 April) of the *Mail & Guardian*

The overall findings and the answering of the research questions in relation to this analysis is presented in Chapter 6.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed twelve reports in terms of the CDA categories at the micro and macro levels with an overview of the CDA analysis for the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian*. The subsequent sections analyse the dimensions of truth, balance and independence in accordance with Black et al., (1995) and Shroud and Reese (sa) and provide an ethical assessment for each paper. Next, Chapter 5 presents an assessment of the theoretical framework of the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories. In addition to providing a sound theoretical basis to support this study, it will also be applied to the twelve articles to re-examine the CDA analysis to validate the findings.

CHAPTER 5

APPLICATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND LIBERTARIAN THEORIES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an additional approach to the analysis to critically reassess the findings of the CDA. The application of the theories serves as a form of triangulation to determine whether the press reporting was ethical or unethical for the elections. The analysis of the theoretical framework of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian theories is explained below for the *City Press*, *Sunday Times*, and *Mail & Guardian* respectively. The following chapter examines the CDA criteria. It then applies the ethical dimensions of truth and independence in accordance with Black et al., (1995) and balance in accordance with Stroud and Reese (sa). Subsequently, the chapter relates the analysis to the scope of McQuail (1987) for the Libertarian theory and Siebert et al., (1963) for the Social Responsibility theory as outlined in Chapter 2 for determining the application of the normative models in the reports.

5.2 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND LIBERTARIAN MODELS IN THE *CITY PRESS* Article 1

From a social responsibility standpoint it informs society of the dispute at the public broadcaster. As the SABC is mandated to serve the public, such information is in the public interest. Such reporting is pertinent, because, according to staff claims, the public has been excluded from full coverage and subsequent detailed information of other parties' manifestos, by the SABC. This is information that they are rightly entitled to. Therefore, the social responsibility of the press is relevant to ensure public interest, as upheld by the press, in this report. Consistent with Siebert et al., (1963:74), social responsibility values safeguard the rights of the public "by serving as a watchdog against government".

The watchdog function of the libertarian perspective highlighted the following keywords in statements by SABC staff: "protect editorial independence and integrity" (Paragraph 19); and "we will not allow commercial, political or personal considerations to influence editorial decisions" (Paragraph 20). The proposition is that an independent media is critical for democracy. A media acting in the state interest is not conducive to a free and fair election. Therefore, the importance of watchdog journalism is that it assures unbiased coverage in the voter's interest. The normative model in this report is clearly both a watchdog and social responsibility model.

Article 2

This article fulfils a social responsibility role to the extent that it informs the public of a critical election issue of a possible coalition between two political parties that can conceivably impact on political choices of the voter. It equally serves the political system by informing the public of the discussion of and debate around an EFF/DA coalition. The watchdog role of the press is not applied in this article.

Article 3

The social responsibility of the press fulfils its proclaimed aim of informing readers of the final election trail of the three main political contenders, that is, the ANC, the DA and the EFF, in all three sub-articles that form part of Article 3. However, bias is evident in Article 1, where a negative connotation attached to the opposition by the writer, suggesting that the criticism of Nkandla by them, is a “cover up for the thinness of the manifestos and policy packages”. This does not support the social responsibility function in the public’s interest. The assertion is conjecture and not backed by factual data, demonstrating a predisposition toward the state. Article 3 articulates a negative tone toward the EFF in the style of writing, proposing that the EFF campaign is ineffective by the use of disparagements such as “lacklustre campaign”. Hence, a libertarian (watchdog) discourse is not upheld in all three articles.

Article 4

This article performs a social responsibility role to the level of providing important election information, relevant for the reader and voter. It is informed by statistics and therefore provides sufficient detail to keep the public updated on the latest election statistics. It equally performs a social responsibility role to the state as well as other political contenders, by informing the reader of their campaigns and polling data. The libertarian function, incorporating watchdog journalism is not applied in this article.

5.3 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND LIBERTARIAN MODELS IN THE *SUNDAY TIMES*

Article 1

From a social responsibility perspective, the public interest is observed to the extent that the article informs the public on an election issue that is relevant, particularly for the coloured demographic, regarding voting for the ANC. The article informs the demographic that read the *Sunday Times* that the ANC has engaged with residents of the Cape Flats. A critical assessment of the ANC, indicating that the acute watchdog role of the press was exercised, was

not evident. However, the style and tone demonstrate a watchdog role over the DA, highlighting the concerns about crime in Cape Town, that Zille shut down 27 schools and that DA members are defecting to the ANC. This was achieved by the writer paraphrasing the opinions of President Zuma in Paragraphs 10, 11, 12 and 13, including the last two paragraphs. It thus, implicitly exercises its role as Fourth Estate and watchdog over political parties, in line with the libertarian theory.

Article 2

Consistent with Siebert et al., (1963), social responsibility is observed in this news report to the extent that, it adequately informs the reader or electorate on the current election statistics and thus, enlightens the public. This encourages self-sufficiency in voting. The article equally demonstrates social responsibility to the political system, that is, government, other contending political parties and other politicians, by providing information on their campaigns and ranking in the elections. A libertarian role, that critically evaluates the government, is not expressed in this article.

Article 3

From a social responsibility perspective, the rights of the public are safeguarded, where readers and citizens are informed of a germane newsworthy event relating to government misconduct, thereby, protecting public interest. From a Libertarian perspective, the newspaper performs its watchdog role by holding the ruling ANC government to account. The key terms that indicate a libertarian and inclusive watchdog discourse include, “we uphold the rights and freedom of the media” (Paragraph 14). That the media is committed to freedom from external censorship and restrictions, is indicated in Paragraph 12, where eNCA indicates its intention to lodge a complaint with the ANC. Moreover, SANEF is outspoken calling it a “travesty of the 20-years-of-democracy celebrations” (Paragraph 16). In Paragraph 14, the ruling ANC appears to show some form of deference for media independence by expressing, “people must not interfere with journalists while they are working”. This report serves to demonstrate to government that such confrontations disregard the workings of democracy and further create an environment of diminished cooperation between both institutions. The context of this article is relevant in the present political narrative in South Africa, particularly with calls for a developmental state by the government, prevalent. Thus, both normative models are observed in this report.

Article 4

This article informs of the latest election statistics and shows readers where their prospective parties are ranked in the elections. It provides sufficient information to supplement the statistics. It thus, provides a social responsibility service to the public by informing them of the aforementioned election issue, and, equally, aids the political system by keeping voters updated. A libertarian function is not implemented in this article.

5.4 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND LIBERTARIAN MODELS IN THE *MAIL & GUARDIAN*

Article 1

In this article, the social responsibility perspective, incorporating public interest, is applied to the extent that, it informs citizens of a relevant election matter regarding voting for the ANC, in an environment of conflict within Cosatu - an important alliance partner of the ANC. It is indicated in Paragraph 9 that, in December 2013, Numsa, a Cosatu affiliate with more than 300 000 members, vowed not to campaign for the ANC. This is of consequence to the reader and public intent on voting for the ANC. The libertarian function is not palpable as the report mainly serves to inform readers.

Article 2

The social responsibility model has been applied in this article in a manner that informs the reader and broader public of the possible election outcome for President Zuma. This article overtly addresses the political candidate and expresses a view of his standing within the ANC. A libertarian (watchdog) function is performed, wherein the writer is highly critical of the president, highlighting his shortcomings and notifying the reader of the infighting in the ANC, the Nkandla scandal and attempts by the ANC to rally support for Zuma. This demonstrates critical watchdog journalism. Expressions of a “lame-duck president” and the ‘embarrassment of a less than 60% vote for the ANC’ highlight a free press exercising independence, able to actively criticise government in South Africa.

Article 3

Article 3 writes on party politics and focuses on a political figure, that is, Zwelinzima Vavi and thus, from a social responsibility perspective, performs a duty in servicing the political system. A libertarian function is not implemented in this report.

Article 4

The social responsibility paradigm is applied to Article 4 by informing both in the state and public interest by providing valuable information regarding the changes to cabinet. It provides information in service to the political system and simultaneously informs the public. It offers the reader valuable details on the plans by government to change the Cabinet. Such information on the “shake-up” directly impact the electorate, because the overseeing of the various department and municipalities by the various ministers, have import on the daily lives of citizens. Such information provided by the press contributes to the developmental goals of the government. The libertarian (watchdog) role is observed through a critical analysis by the writer, of the various changes to the cabinet. It highlights previous information on the information ministry of 1970, elucidating the scandal of 1977 and the subsequent downfall of Vorster’s government. Key terms that publicise critical watchdog journalism include “propaganda ministry” and “nerve centre of government propaganda”. It highlights a press that is free from restriction and able to critically challenge the state. The writer further uses quotes to highlight government shortfalls. For example, Paragraph 21 indicates “...Zuma is concerned about the ‘largely negative media coverage’ he has received since he became president in 2009”. To understand this discourse, the past context, fraught with political scandals such as Nkandla, must be considered. Thus, SA’s socio-historical context largely informs the negative media coverage.

5.5 DISCUSSION OF THE ETHICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE APPLIED THEORETICAL FRAMES

The findings demonstrate that the theoretical frames of the social responsibility and libertarian models validate the CDA. It has been determined in the assessment that both paradigms function in the language of the texts in the newspaper articles. For example, the CDA categories such as lexical style, quotes and metaphors were highlighted through the writing style in Article 1 in the *Sunday Times* in paragraphs 4 to 15, drawing attention to the perceived shortfalls of the DA, including crime and gangsterism. It not only revealed a critical libertarian press that incorporated a watchdog role, but also an active social responsibility function of the press, by informing the reader. Watchdog terms such as “people must not interfere with journalists while they are working” and “we uphold the rights and freedoms of the media” (Article 2, *Sunday Times*) highlights the category of active and passive voice which establishes libertarian journalism. From this perspective, keywords in Article 1 in the *City Press* include the following statements by SABC staff: “protect editorial independence and integrity”

(Paragraph 19); and “we will not allow commercial, political or personal considerations to influence editorial decisions”. Furthermore, Article 2 in the *Mail & Guardian* highlight the infighting in the ANC, the embarrassment of a less than 60% vote for the ANC and refer to Zuma as a “lame duck” through the CDA categories of metaphors, headlines, lexical style, quotes and sentence links, to uphold both social responsibility and libertarian journalism. Lexical style including headlines, background information, adjectives in paraphrased sections and quotations highlight language use such as “propaganda ministry”, “Mac the mouth” and “clandestinely” in Article 4 in the *Mail & Guardian* to show the press upholding critical watchdog journalism and social responsibility for the reader.

The libertarian and social responsibility functions correspond with the ethical dimensions of truth, balance and independence by informing and educating truthfully, thereby upholding social responsibility. Furthermore, the articles analysed as independent and balanced, upholds the libertarian role that incorporates watchdog function, over the political parties. The study shows that the applied theoretical frameworks not only provide a formative foundation for ethical press reporting during the elections, but also function as a form of re-evaluation (triangulation) to substantiate the analysis of the CDA.

All the twelve reports indicate that the newspapers have fulfilled the proclaimed aims of the social responsibility theory by way of informing and educating the readers on the 2014 elections. In doing so, it functions in both the state and public interest. In terms of the Libertarian theory, the assessment has established that the press has not been restricted by the government in the reporting of the elections and has been able to report critically and freely on the elections. The libertarian role has been established in five of the eight articles that are not independent. It is exhibited in Article 2 in the *City Press*, Articles 1 and 3 in the *Sunday Times*, and Articles 2 and 4 in the *Mail & Guardian* and thus, a total of five of the twelve reports. Hence, if it is performing a libertarian (watchdog) role over the state, corroborated by truthfulness, the lack of independence cannot be equated with unethical reporting. Thus, in terms of fulfilling a social responsibility and libertarian role to uphold ethical conduct, it is clear that both models have been implemented in the reportage to a greater extent, and have shown the press to be wholly ethical for the 2014 elections. The analysis will now address the proposed Developmental Journalism Model.

5.6 THE APPLIED DEVELOPMENTAL JOURNALISM MODEL

In this section, the analysis maps out a proposed model for the press that builds on the theoretical frameworks of the social responsibility and libertarian theories, and incorporates principles of developmental journalism for election reporting in SA. In light of the contentious press-state relationship and subsequent deliberations of press regulation, this thesis argues that the combination thereof, is mutually beneficial to both the state and the press. Ultimately, this is important for the elections and by extension, democracy. From the overall assessment of the developmental theory detailed in Chapter 2 and consistent with McQuail (1987:119), it is evident that all twelve articles are founded on the responsible distribution of information. Black et al., (1995) was utilised to determine that the procurement and distribution of information by the journalist was done so truthfully. De Beer et al., (2016) argues that being critical of developmental goals is consistent with the social responsibility approach and by extension, this thesis argues, encompasses watchdog journalism.

Nevertheless, this study has found that developmental theory principles have been incorporated in only one article of the twelve analysed. Only Article 4 in the *Mail & Guardian* (2 May 2014) employed developmental journalism principles consistent with the principles of McQuail (1987). The writer makes a positive contribution to the national developmental process and gives consideration to issues of national importance. The article, although critical, offers the state a platform to inform the public of the proposed information ministry. It highlights the restructuring of government with references to a second deputy president, the failure of the co-operative governance with service delivery protests, the “weak women’s ministry and finally, touches on “changes in the economic cluster” (Paragraph 41), which is important for developmental state goals. The article, therefore, advances notions of developmental journalism to the degree of outlining government strategies which is valuable for economic progress and for the electorate and greater society. Such information is useful to the reader and voter, informing of the underperformance in the aforementioned departments, and the steps that will be taken to amend it. This is relevant as the improved and efficacious lived experiences of citizens are dependent on the effective functioning of these departments.

Even though independence is not upheld in the article, the CDA successfully demonstrates through the applied categories of modality, direct quotes and background information, that the article was truthful by way of informing and educating the public on the new information ministry and cabinet restructuring. Balance was applied, where the opinions of both sides were

provided and detailed information on all the possible appointments for the reader, offered. Although the writing negatively portrays Zuma's past scandals, it includes the reasons for the restructuring of Cabinet. This is beneficial to the government as the newspaper is publicising their goals, which is in the public interest.

Essentially, this thesis argues that the very important social responsibility role correlates with the developmental journalism model in terms of promoting both national and public interest, by publicising important election information on the modifications in government for the public. The traditional libertarian role of the press as watchdog and overseer of the government, is equally incorporated in developmental journalism to the extent that, as the Fourth Estate, it critically and equitably scrutinises state issues including the information ministry, cabinet changes as well as critical past information on the 1977 ministry.

The thesis argues that the proposed developmental model is valuable for the press during South Africa's elections for serving as a socially responsible watchdog insofar as advancing developmental goals if it entails economic progress to the benefit of society and thus, democracy and notions of fairness and equality. Part of the obligations of the press to society within the social responsibility, libertarian and developmental journalism frames, are indeed, articulating the national development process and crucial national issues for the greater good of society. This thesis finds that reconceptualising both normative models to incorporate the developmental journalism model, can underscore socio-economic imbalances, which, according MMA (2014), the media have been deficient in reporting on. The analysis has found that, apart from this article, the focus of reporting has mainly been on election polls and individual political figures rather than manifestos and policies that reconcile with the needs of citizens.

The role of the press in the South African context should ideally protect the developmental objectives of the state if such goals advance social and economic equality for all citizens. This is what the elections stand for and the press have a responsibility to highlight such goals. An article entitled 'Media's role more than watchdogging' by Lansink (1998) in the *Sowetan* quoted in Skjerdal (2001:76) reverberates the argument of this thesis by postulating: "the new South African constitution has paved the way for "a more substantive notion of democracy", particularly with regard to economic equality' adding "the role of the media should extend beyond being a watchdog; the media should play its role in the effort to create a national consciousness of substantive democracy". The goals of economic equality and a working

democracy for the public, is arguably, progressed by incorporating developmental journalism, and is underscored in this article. Thus, this thesis contends that the proposed model has latitude within the media in South Africa.

Granted, the press have liberties in distributing information as expounded in McQuail (1987). However, they lucidly progress public interest as their mandate. This research argues that in the election context, the developmental journalism model is important for national issues relating to economic progress and social welfare. From an ethical standpoint, a press that supports developments goals in the interest of nation-building (socio-economic welfare), and upholds the Press Code (2016) by providing a fair and inclusive account of the elections and “legitimate” information, promotes advocacy journalism, maintains “credibility” and independence, to support public and society’s interest.

5.7 Conclusion

To conclude, the assessment shows that the different analyses can be compared to provide meaningful results to address ethical or unethical press reporting on the elections. The study categorically shows that CDA highlights libertarian and social responsibility journalism. It equally intersects with the key terms of the developmental journalism model (developmental goals incorporating socio-economic progress). The theoretical frameworks of social responsibility and libertarianism successfully reassessed the twelve articles as a form of triangulation to validate the CDA analysis. The proposed Developmental Journalism model which incorporates both theoretical frameworks has been established in only one article in the analysis. In conclusion, how the primary findings address the research questions and problem statement will be addressed next in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the findings of the analysis of the newspapers in Chapter 4 and triangulation in terms of the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories assessed in Chapter 5. It firstly discusses the findings of the CDA of the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* to determine whether the press reported ethically or unethically for the 2014 general elections. Next, the findings of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian frameworks as a form of triangulation in accordance with McQuail (1987) for the Libertarian theory and Siebert et al., (1963) for the Social Responsibility theory, outlined in Chapter 2, are evaluated. The discussion of the theoretical framework that follows from Chapter 5, is an assessment of both frameworks for the analysed newspapers. The proposed Developmental Journalism model according to McQuail (1987) is then argued. Lastly, the secondary research question, followed by the main research question and the main research issue are answered in succession, for a logical flow.

6.2 FINDINGS OF THE CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

6.2.1 Macro-level analysis

This study investigated whether the press reported ethically or unethically on the 2014 General Elections in SA using the methodology of CDA. Employing the CDA categories of Fairclough (1989) and Van Dijk (1990), has found that the grammatical arrangement of the language has succeeded in uncovering the underlying ideologies in newspaper reporting.

The representation of the elections at the macro level focused on the context, headlines and lexical style. The CDA criteria of context was able to successfully highlight the ideological underpinnings of the writer. For example, Article 3 (1) in the *City Press*, in reporting on the Nkandla scandal associated with President Zuma, shows bias toward him and was able to discredit the opposition for drawing attention to the scandal. The style of writing employed is emotive and this presents him more positively to the reader, publicising his opinions and voter support (Paragraph 7) while negatively framing the opposition (Paragraph 6). The writer's position is evident in the language with descriptions of the "thinness of manifestos and policy packages" that criticise the opposition in support of Zuma. It is the contention of this analysis that the reportage in this article is biased toward the ANC. However, the statement was a sweeping generalisation that was not directed to any particular party. It, therefore, did not

directly harm their dignity or reputation or incite any violence toward the actors, in violation of the Press Code. In terms of Black et al., (1995), it did report the truth and inform the public of an important election event, and is supported by direct quotes. The CDA criterion of context in the *Sunday Times* also references Nkandla, where the writer indicates that the Nkandla scandal did not have the negative impact on the public support for the ANC that it presumably should have had. Again, the tonality suggests implicit writer opinion. Thus, the CDA has effectively shown that context can indeed highlight implicit writer ideology.

The headlines in each of the twelve articles in the study were eye catching, bold and evocative, and effectually conveyed the main themes to the reader. All headlines included informative sub-headings that enhanced the main headline. Some implied the political standpoint of the newspaper, for example, “ANC’s voters shrug off Nkandla” (*Sunday Times*, Article 2). The context of this report and style of writing by the journalist implied that Nkandla was presumed to have negatively impacted the ANC and voter support. Similarly, “Maharaj for minister of propaganda” (*Mail & Guardian*, Article 4), conveys a negative report of the ANC to the reader.

The lexical style summarised the gist of the story and highlighted the main themes and implicit bias through the effective use of various syntax, headlines, the organisation of the main themes and context. Article 3(1) in the *City Press* used emotive language such as “messianic figure” and the synonym “Pitbull” (Paragraph 3) to describe and create a formidable opponent in Zuma. It incorporates Zuma’s opinion rather conspicuously where it writes that “they talk about Nkandla as if Nkandla will win them the elections”, while excluding the voice of opposition on the scandal. The tonality, through metaphors such as “gutted his critics” and using Nkandla as a stick “with which to smite his and the ruling party’s enemies”, reveals the ideological standpoint of the *City Press* writer in support of Zuma and by extension, the ANC.

6.2.2 Micro-level analysis

At the micro-level, the elections is analysed by the use of nominalisation, active and passive voice and modality (syntactic style), quotations, relational values, metaphors and connections in sentences. Nominalisation was not found to have been employed in all twelve articles to indicate the predisposition of the writer. Relational values observed the formality of the settings in all three papers, by applying the appropriate titles to the various actors. Personal pronouns such as ‘us’ ‘we’ or ‘I’ that to speak for the reader to advance an “us versus them ideology”, was not utilised by the writer. The use of metaphors and different modal expressions

effectively point out political ideologies in the writings. For example “propaganda ministry” (Article 4, *Mail & Guardian*) and “lame duck president” (Article 3, *City Press*), highlight the writers’ opposition to the ANC. Active and passive sentences of both the actors and the writer are employed in most articles. For example, the active voice of the writer in Article 4 in the *Mail & Guardian* on the information ministry, and the passive voice in Articles 2 and 4 in the *Sunday Times* and Article 4 in *City Press* on general voting information, was found in the assessment. Direct quotes are used in all articles to legitimise events and strengthen the arguments of actors. Paragraphs that were written in indirect speech also included quotes by sources to strengthen the argument. For example paraphrased Paragraph 10 in Article 1 in the *Sunday Times* writes: “Zuma also touched on education. He lauded the crowd for having “fought” to keep 27 schools open after Helen Zille’s government tried to close them”. Quotes were also employed to highlight limitations on free speech and the professional press ideology such as in Article 3 in *Sunday Times* which included words phrases such as, “we uphold the rights and freedoms of the media”.

6.2.3 Ethical Implication of the CDA analysis

The findings reveal that the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* were overall ethical in reporting on the 2014 General Elections in SA. The reporting on the front page main election story wholly conformed to conventions of straight, hard news reporting. This was clear in all three papers in the study. It is evident that language does indeed serve as a means to convey subliminal political ideologies, which confirms the assumptions of this study. Nonetheless, the findings show that the ethical dimensions of truth, balance and independence were principally upheld in the twelve articles. Although eight of the twelve reports were analysed as unbalanced, these are subject to specific contexts and the related issues of corruption, maladministration, poor governance and scandals. This study argues that the public have a right to know about these aforesaid issues and the press have a duty inform the readers on these – which they have rightly done. By enlightening the reader on both sides of the story, they have upheld overall balance. Although two articles were analysed as unbalanced, the reporting did not contravene and the ethical criteria of this study. The reporting in the twelve reports largely conformed to the conventions of the Press Code (2016) and was measured as overall ethical in the CDA.

6.3 CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND THE LIBERTARIAN THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study challenges the view that the Social Responsibility and Libertarian theories should be dichotomised to ensure press freedom and avoid state censorship and control. Research into SA journalism has also found both roles are recognised by journalists as corresponding (De Beer et al., 2016). Although, theoretically, at either ends of the spectrum, the libertarian (independent watchdog) and social responsibility (balancing public and state interest) theories can still harmonise. Siebert et al., (1963) has incorporated libertarian values in the six principles espoused in the social responsibility paradigm. Overall, in reporting on the 2014 elections, a free press was evidenced, where journalism was critical of all political parties without censure by the state. The study also revealed a synthesis of both models in the articles. The findings show that the social responsibility paradigm was adopted in all twelve reports by the writers. The articles in the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian* all principally fulfilled this function consistent with Siebert et al., (1963:74) in terms of “servicing the political system by providing information, discussion and debate on public affairs; and enlightening the public so as to make it capable of self-government”. It served the political system by providing information for the reader and broader public on party campaigns, statistics of party polls, government mismanagement, scandals and planned government modifications. It further, informed and enlightened the public (the information role of the press) and thus, educated them on public matters, allowing for discussion and debate.

The Libertarian role was upheld in five articles (Article 2 in the *City Press*; Article 1 and 3 in the *Sunday Times*; and Articles 2 and 4 in the *Mail & Guardian*). In the *City Press* Article 1 “Staff Lash SABC for ‘Taking Sides’”, the underlying meaning parallels an independent media with democracy. In this case, the broadcast media (SABC) is censoring staff, forcing them to disregard coverage of the opposition parties. Key terms include “editorial independence and integrity” and “we will not allow commercial, political or personal considerations to influence editorial decisions”. This supports McQuail’s (1987:115), who points out that “there should be no coercion to publish anything”. A press acting only in state interest does not constitute fair election reporting. Democracy presumes a free and fair media and watchdog journalism assures critical coverage in the voter’s interest. Thus, the *City Press* reported justly.

In the *Sunday Times*, Article 1 the CDA highlights an underlying watchdog function directed towards the DA by highlighting their limitations (crime, gangsterism, Zille shutting down

schools and DA members defecting to the ANC). The writer rightly exercises the watchdog role of the press, reporting on political limitations in the public interest. In Article 3 in the *Sunday Times*, the ostensible normative watchdog role exposes an ANC member's aggressive behaviour towards a reporter. Deleting the pictures from the journalist's cellphone is reported as infringing on the freedom of the media, consistent with the Bill of Rights. Key libertarian terms reported include, "people must not interfere with journalists while they are working" and "we uphold the rights and freedoms of the media". McQuail (1987:115) supports such reporting in his writings where he argues that "no restrictions should be placed on the acquisition of information through legal channels" and where "the media should be free from any external censorship". It is evident that the ideology of press freedom is articulated in the tone of the above article. The paper has a duty to inform the public on the events that transpired without censorship, especially in light of the actions of the ANC security. It arguably highlights an authoritarian ideology purported by the ANC towards the press. Then again, the acknowledgement by the ANC that they uphold the rights and freedom of the media points to an understanding - at the very least - of media freedom by the ruling party. This article serves to remind government that such conflicts discount the workings of democracy, creating a basis for weak collaboration between both institutions.

Article 2 in the *Mail & Guardian* "Battle for post-Zuma ANC begins", performs a watchdog role by critically evaluating President Zuma's second term in Cabinet. It highlights his scandals, mismanagement, infighting in the ANC and their electioneering attempts. "Lame-duck president" and evaluations of a less than 60% vote for the ANC, show a press able to criticise government. Press autonomy, therefore, rests comfortably on McQuail's (1987:115) principle: "editorial attacks on government or political parties should not be punishable". Article 4 in the *Mail & Guardian* "Maharaj for Minister of propaganda", uses terms such as "propaganda ministry" and "nerve centre of government propaganda" to advance a watchdog role by censuring government's new ministry. Criticisms of the press by the state are reported in the article, where it articulates that Zuma has lamented the "largely negative coverage" he has received by the media in accentuating his scandals. This confirms the state's dispute with the press, discontent by the critical reportage, even though historical context has largely informed this negative coverage, and which the public has a right to know about. The findings show that both models dovetail to perform important balancing roles in the election analysis.

6.3.1 Ethical Findings for the theoretical frames

The Libertarian and Social Responsibility frames both provide a sound theoretical foundation for this ethics study and serve as a form of triangulation for reassessing the CDA to be able to determine ethical or unethical reporting. The language found by the CDA criteria and the subsequent tonality, intersect with the key terms of the models, to highlight biased reporting. Examples are highlighted in Chapter 5, Section 5.5, that conflate the language found by the CDA categories with the theoretical frames, to define biased ideological reporting. The study shows that the watchdog discourse in the articles purports freedom of expression and independence, while social responsibility advances information-sharing and educating on election issues. In carrying out its libertarian and associated watchdog role over the state, the ethical dimensions of independence and the lack thereof, cannot be equated with unethical reporting as it was reasonably grounded on contextual issues. Although not directly articulated in some reports, consistent with Table 2 (Section 3.6.1, page 78), and consistent with the CDA analysis, the reportage highlights a South African press that:

- is free and independent of state control for autonomous election reporting;
- upheld obligations to both the state and the public, to the extent of providing election information on polling, party campaigns, state corruption, maladministration and political figures;
- was an ethical watchdog over state and politicians by critically evaluating corruption (Nkandla), infighting (ANC), government maladministration and poor governance, and a proposed information ministry, beyond educating and informing readers on the general election issues (social responsibility);
- was truthful, balanced and independent to a greater extent.

The study thus concludes that the press fulfilled its social responsibility obligations in all twelve reports and its libertarian duty, incorporating watchdog journalism, to a greater extent. These theoretical framework provide a firm foundation for determining unethical reporting of the press and, thus, validates and contributes to the findings of the CDA that the press was not unethical in reporting on the elections.

In comparison with international media, the issue of the current migration of refugees to Europe and the United States of America, which debatably has given rise to social conflict and right-wing politics, must be considered. The international media has to find ways of reporting on this conflict that incorporates the accompanying cultural variances. But, according to Mata

(2017), “what is worrying are the ways in which mainstream media coverage of the refugees or migrants in Europe and in the Middle East and North Africa have tended to repeat stereotypes and frames that construct the refugees as a collective “other” that is different from “us”, and as a humanitarian or security problem, and in the process silencing, dehumanizing and marginalizing those represented and talked about”. In South Africa, our media has experience in functioning through institutionalised repressive policies such as apartheid and dealing with the resultant conflict linked to race, culture and ethnicity. It is the opinion of this study that there is an awareness of different cultures by the media in SA and a responsiveness to Ubuntu journalism. When compared with international media, this researcher believes that, despite its sturdier watchdog role and the more acutely adopted western framework in SA, there is an adoption of the social responsibility framework within the SA press. This was evident in the discourse on elections. Perhaps, we can offer this to the rest of the world.

6.3.1 Developmental Journalism Model

Based on the literature in Chapter 2 on developmental journalism and Ubuntuism, a contention of this study, grounded on the findings of the CDA, is that the polarised view by government and the press on the role of the press in SA gives scope to the Developmental Journalism model. The study reconceptualises both the Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories of Siebert et al., (1963), to incorporate this model, argued as relevant in the SA context in this study. Firstly, the analysis has found that developmental journalism has not been applied in eleven of the twelve articles. Only Article 4 in the *Mail & Guardian*, advances developmental journalism principles, that is, reporting on developmental tasks and projects of the state. The writer provides the state with a platform to inform readers of the proposed information ministry. The article outlines the potential functions and the key players involved in the ministry; provides the justifications for two deputy ministers (one for governance issues and one for presidential support and responsibilities); a new ministry for job creation; and changes in the economic cluster and a new finance minister. In accordance with McQuail’s (1987:119) principles, this article, thus, makes “a positive contribution to the national development process”, by highlighting government strategies valuable for economic progress and social welfare. Despite the rightly argued criticisms of the state, the writer heeds both the “responsibilities and liberties in obtaining and distributing information” (McQuail, 1987:119), by distributing the information fairly, irrespective of journalistic opinion on the information ministry. It has economic and social relevance, since improving the lived experiences of citizens’ rests on the proper functioning of the various government departments.

It also links with the social responsibility model, promoting both national and public interest, by evaluating and publicising important election information on the planned ministry and other state modifications (developmental programmes). The libertarian watchdog role of the press as overseer of government, incorporates developmental journalism to the extent that, it critically evaluates and reports on the relevance of the planned information ministry. It thereby contributes to the national development goals of the state and public interest. Hence, in incorporating both models with the developmental journalism model, this article as per Chapter 2 Section 2.5.6.1 points to:

- a press exercising an ethical watchdog role over the government, resonating with the work of De Beer et al., (2016) who advances that being critical of developmental goals is consistent with a social responsibility approach and watchdog journalism;
- a free press, echoing McQuail's (1987:119) responsibilities and liberties in promoting developmental goals while advancing social responsibility in assessing and informing; and a watchdog role over the state through critical analysis;
- the responsible distribution of information on the elections;
- upholding its obligations to both the state and public, making a constructive contribution to the national developmental process by advancing crucial election information (social responsibility and developmental goals) that is critical (watchdog role).

Primarily, the argument upheld is that the press in SA ought to incorporate developmental journalism traits in election reporting, so that it allows for the formation of public opinion and the advancement of state goals that progress social and economic equality for all citizens. An article entitled 'Media's role more than watchdogging' by Lansink (1998) in the *Sowetan* quoted in Skjerdal (2001:76) reverberates the argument of this thesis by postulating that "the new South African constitution has paved the way for "a more substantive notion of democracy", particularly with regard to economic equality' adding "the role of the media should extend beyond being a watchdog; the media should play its role in the effort to create a national consciousness of substantive democracy". This study, thus argues, that social responsibility and watchdog ethics, necessary for elections in particular, speaks to developmental journalism ideals with public interest foremost.

6.4 MAIN AND SECONDARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS ANSWERED

In order to answer the main research question, the secondary questions will be answered first, as they address the key issues that systematically and logically help answer the main research question.

6.4.1 Secondary Questions

1. To what extent have the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian* informed and educated the reader fairly and accurately in the election report, thereby upholding truthful news reporting in the front page hard news reports on the elections?

The CDA analysis has found that all twelve reports in the study were overall truthful, meaning that the press has wholly upheld ethical reporting for the 2014 elections to the extent that it conformed to the Press Code of 2016 in South Africa. The preamble to the South African press code, according to Thloloe (2012:159) states that “our work is guided at all times by the public interest...this means always striving for truth, avoiding unnecessary harm...”. Firstly, the CDA criteria highlighted the use of verifiable statistical data, for example, the statistics of the Ipsos survey in Article 4 in the *City Press* and in Articles 2 and 4 in the *Sunday Times*. It informed readers and allowed them to make comparisons regarding where the respective parties ranked at the polls. Secondly, the included images in all twelve reports, not only serve as visual impact but also confirm the veracity of the events. Thirdly, the reports relied heavily on sources, either directly quoted or paraphrased. Paraphrased sections of the article also incorporated quotes for substantiation. These journalistic selections give credibility to the election events and help the writer interpret them accurately. Article 3(1) in the *City Press*, although articulating writer opinion, was analysed as truthful as it upheld the directives of Black et al., (1995), to the extent of informing on the event that President Zuma was participating in, and educated the public on a significant election issue, without causing harm to the other participants in the story.

Finally, context, a macro-analysis CDA criteria, reinforced truth and was strengthened by Oosthuizen (2002:121), who argued that context offered instructions for the most suitable option for choosing in a “broader communicational context”. The best alternate choice within the broader context in the study was informing the reader on Nkandla, which had to do with the over R200 million of tax payers money used to refurbish President Zuma’s home. This is in the public’s interest, based on the impact it could potentially have when trying to choose the best candidate. References to Nkandla feature prominently throughout this analysis across all

three newspapers, for example, in Articles 3 and 4 in the *City Press*, Articles 2 and 4 in the *Sunday Times* and Articles 2 and 3 in the *Mail & Guardian*. Other relevant contextual information informed of the results of the 2009 elections and compared these with representations of events in 2014 in Article 4 in the *Sunday Times*, for example. In relation to Black et al's., (1995) dimension of truth, seeking to report it as fully as possible, engaging, educating and informing the public, being honest and interpreting accurate information, all reports have, thus, met the requirements. The use of statistics, images, reliable sources and contextual information, determined by the CDA, have wholly contributed to ensuring that the aforesaid informed and educated the reader in the election report fairly and accurately, on order to uphold truthful news reporting. This thesis, thus, contends that the information role of the press legitimately and reasonably upheld the ethical dimension of truth for the reader.

2. To what extent did the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian* publish all competing perspectives impartially in order to maintain editorial independence in the reporting in the front page hard news reports on the elections?

To the extent of publishing all competing perspectives impartially to maintain editorial independence, this study applied Oosthuizen (2002), who takes the wider context and the most suitable alternative into account. It further adopts the approach of Black et al., (1995), who strive the application of all opposing standpoints without being influenced. The analysis has found that eight of the twelve articles in this study lack editorial independence, maintaining independence in only four. The lack of independence was also found in underlying ideologies of press freedom and press ideologies either countering or supporting ANC or the DA doctrines.

Firstly, the CDA (the macro and micro-level analysis) show how aspects of speech presentation give the impression through quotes, verbs, metaphors and an active writer voice, of underlying writer ideology. Biased ideology of the writer supporting the ANC, by attacking the manifestos of the opposition parties in Article 3 in the *City Press*, is highlighted through key phrases such as “calculated deflection”, “cover up” and “thinness of the manifestos and policy packages”. It highlights the writer's inclination toward Zuma and his political ideology, discounting the Public Protector's report on the Nkandla scandal, which clearly informs the oppositions' criticisms, since it was widely publicised in all forms of media. The claim by the journalist was not substantiated in the article.

Furthermore, the ideology of press freedom is also perpetuated in Article 3 in the *Sunday Times* through phrases such as “people must not interfere with journalists while they are working” and “we uphold the rights and freedoms of the media”. Article 2 in the *Mail & Guardian* highlight word selections that promote bias, promoting an ideology that counters that of the ANC. The article purports the theme of conflict and in-fighting within the ANC, using the term “Nkandlagate” to propagate an adverse inference of the ANC. The writer’s ideology appears to speak to an ethos of ethics in this context. Lastly Article 4 in the *Mail & Guardian* propagates an ideology that evocatively advances a negative subtext of the ANC. By constant references to ‘propaganda ministry’, it sets a negative tone. All these aforementioned examples show lack of independence.

However, context is an important CDA criteria that contributed to the dearth of independence. Five of the eight non-independent reports pointed to the scandals of Nkandla, corruption and mismanagement of the state by the President. This conflates with Oosthuizen’s (2002) who supports the selection of the most suitable alternative in the wider context. Evidently, in light of the background of state corruption prevalent in SA, the writer’s lack of independence hinged on the most fitting action in order to advance public interest.

Although three articles were partial – one in favour of the ANC and two against - the lack of independence did not promote an “us versus them typology” or speak for the reader through relational values such as the inclusive “us” or “we” pronoun, to be measured as unethical. No political party was endorsed by the writer for the elections by telling the reader who to vote for. There was neither any there evidence of some infringement of the privacy of the actors in the articles. It is, thus, the argument of this analysis that the lack of independence did not constitute unethical press reporting on the elections. This assessment is in line with the Press Code (2016) Oosthuizen (2002) and Retief (2002).

3. To what extent did the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian* provide both competing viewpoints to allow comparability in the reports to maintain balance in reporting in the front page hard news reports on the elections?

The application of balance in this study is underpinned by the principles advocated by Stroud and Reese (sa), in terms of contrasting two opposing “truth claims” and asks the rudimentary question “why did the news outlet broadcast one candidate’s speech and not another candidate’s speech?” to “create understanding” for the reader. Two of the twelve articles did not provide a balanced perspective, that is, Article 3 of the *City Press* and Article 1 of the

Sunday Times. Article 3 (1) in the *City Press* criticised the opposition of Zuma unequivocally and progressed the view that they used their censure of Zuma to cover up for their weak manifestos and policies. Although the accusation made by the writer was not substantiated, there is no way to prove or disprove the allegation as the opposition's response was not included in the article. Still, the opposition was informed by the findings of the Public Protector's report and consequently, it was not a baseless allegation. This report was therefore analysed as unbalanced.

Article 1 (*Sunday Times*) did not provide the space for the DA to respond to claims made by President Zuma against them. The writer further publicises their shortfalls in paraphrased paragraphs. Nevertheless, this does not suggest that in terms of the Press Code or consistent with Stroud and Reese (sa), Oosthuizen (2002) or Retief (2002), that the report contravened any ethical codes. The writer did not publicly endorse a political party and sway the reader in the tonality of the article. The writing did not violate the rights of any of the participants and cause any harm to the DA. The reporting, although unbalanced, was in the public's interest and the reader and public had the right to be informed thereof.

Ten out of the twelve articles were balanced. The analysis has established that the newspapers reported on the elections in a manner that gave the main actors and other relevant sources (political parties, government officials, eye witnesses, anonymous sources and civil society) the platform to voice their opinions, offering two competing claims. It referred to past information including Nkandla, previous elections and the preceding government branches, which is noteworthy information for the reader and the voter for the elections. For example, Article 4 in the *Mail & Guardian*, not only addresses Zuma's past scandals, but also provides information highlighting government adjustments to restructure the Cabinet. Article 4 in the *City Press* provided the opinion of civil society on the upcoming elections through the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation, whose assessment functions is relevant for the reader. Article 3 in the *Sunday Times* gives the indicted ANC the chance to respond to the claims of coercive behaviour against a reporter, by accessing and quoting the ANC spokesperson. It is, therefore, able to deliver a balanced account of events. Further, the results of the Ipsos Survey in Article 2 and 4 in the *Sunday Times* and in Article 4 in the *City Press* provide indicators of the ranking of all competing parties. Therefore, the analysis proves that balance was upheld in line with the Press Code, Stroud and Reese (sa), Oosthuizen (2002), Retief (2002) to the extent of providing two

both competing viewpoints to allow the reader to compare the both claims in the article. This is supported by the criteria of the CDA.

4. To what extent have the press have engaged either a libertarian position, that is, independent watchdog, or a social responsibility position incorporating nation-building and responsible journalism, or combined both roles, in the election reporting in the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian*?

The analysis has revealed that both normative models are articulated in the election discourse to the extent that the social responsibility paradigm the press was observed to have upheld a social responsibility role in all of the twelve reports in all three newspapers in the study. The libertarian function, incorporating watchdog journalism, has been implemented in five reports

Firstly, for the social responsibility paradigm, although there are no key terms that directly highlight the espoused principles espoused, the article implements these principles indirectly. This is achieved by adequately informing and enlightening the reader and voter on election statistics, party politics, political figures, campaigns, cabinet and government adjustments and relevant background past information. This encourages self-sufficiency in voting and allows for the formation of public opinion. It also conveys a social responsibility to the political system (government and contending political parties), by providing information on their campaigns and rankings in the elections. This is needed by political parties who wish to deliver their messages to the voter. Thus, in terms of Siebert et al., (1963:73), it has serviced “the political system by providing information, discussion, and debate on public affairs”. Election statistics are highlighted in Article 4 in the *City Press* and in Articles 2 and 4 in the *Sunday Times*. The government’s position on elections and amendments to Cabinet are included in Article 2 in the *City Press* and in Articles 2 and 4 in the *Mail & Guardian*. Finally, the social responsibility role, as espoused in Siebert et al., (1963:73), in “safeguarding the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog against government”, is conflated with the libertarian (watchdog) function in Article 1 in the *City Press* which reports on the intimidating behaviour directed towards SABC staff by the SABC board.

Secondly, for the Libertarian theory, (Article 2 in the *City Press*, Articles 1 and 3 in the *Sunday Times* and Articles 2 and 4 in the *Mail & Guardian*), form part of the eight articles that were not independent. However, in light of the political context of state corruption, the writer’s role as watchdog is the prevailing action in the public interest. Key terms that denote a watchdog discourse include “we uphold the rights and freedom of the media”; and “people must not

interfere with journalists while they are working” (Article 3 in the *Sunday Times*). Article 1 of the *City Press* includes “protect editorial independence and integrity”; and “we will not allow commercial, political or personal considerations to influence editorial decisions”. Article 4 in the *Mail & Guardian* points out that Zuma is disturbed by the “largely negative media coverage”; “propaganda ministry”; and “nerve centre of government propaganda”. The proposition advanced by this thesis is that an independent media is important for democracy. This aligns with McQuail (1987:115), who argues that “the media should be free from any external censorship; editorial attacks on governments and political parties should not be punishable; no restrictions should be placed on the acquisition of information through legal channels”. The assessment has determined that there is an intersection between social responsibility and watchdogging in these five reports. Primarily, although it is evident that the press have fulfilled a libertarian and social responsibility function independently in some reports, their principles have also been indirectly combined in others.

6.4.2 The Main Research Question

In order to determine whether the election coverage of the 2014 General Election in South Africa by the press was ethical or unethical, how and to what extent have the *City Press*, the *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* reported truthfully, independently and in a balanced manner and upheld both the essential Libertarian and Social Responsibility roles?

Ethical election reporting of the press was measured as corresponding to the CDA criteria of Fairclough (1989) and Van Dijk (1991) and in terms of the South African Press Code (2016), Thloloe (2012), Oosthuizen (2002), Retief (2002), Black et al., (1995), and Stroud and Reese (sa). To answer the main research question the study extracts key aspects from the multifaceted definitions and descriptions provided by the aforementioned authors.

Firstly, according to the CDA, the ethical dimensions of truth was upheld in the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian*. The analysis indicates that the papers have reported truthfully in all twelve articles to the extent of corresponding with the guiding principles of Black et al., (1995). Black et al., (1995:17) explains the principle of truth as follows: “seek truth and report it as fully as possible” and thus, to “...inform, engage, and educate the public”; be honest, fair, and courageous in gathering, reporting, and interpreting accurate information; and hold the powerful accountable”. The analysis has found that the press reported the facts of the election event on the front page hard news reports using verifiable data, images, relevant

past information and quotes by verifiable sources, in order to report truthfully, In *City Press* Article 3(1), it is evident that the writer's opinion is articulated in a front page main headline article. The opinion, although a generalisation, did not harm the dignity and reputation of the opposition parties. It did not incite violence or harm the actors. It did not speak for the reader or tell them who to vote for. Notwithstanding the ideology purported by the writer, the article, upheld the guiding principle of truth according to Black et al., (1995), in terms of highlighting an event that did actually occur, and thus, educating and informing the reader. The veracity of the event, therefore, cannot be disregarded. It would, therefore, not be ethical of this analysis to measure the article as unethical.

Independence was determined to the extent that, according to Oosthuizen (2002:12) "it provides guidelines to identify the best alternative actions within the broader communicational context, and how to choose between them". Independence is further measured in line with Black et al., (1995:17), to "seek out and disseminate competing perspectives without being unduly influenced by those who would use their power or position to counter the public interest". This study reasons that these are the principles that guarantee that a press is able to uphold ethical reportage. Of the eight analysed articles that lacked independence, the CDA macro-analysis criteria of context identified five articles that have been written within the socio-political context of South Africa. The lack of independence in the five reports, conflated largely with the libertarian (watchdog) role, which relied on the past context to justify its criticisms. It addressed the Nkandla scandal, state corruption, infighting and mismanagement by the government. As such, these issues have clearly created awareness for the writer, where he or she has had to position the elections in the broader socio-political context, and choose the most suitable action when informing the reader, knowing that "good ethical decisions require individual responsibility enriched by collaborative efforts" (Black et al., 1997:17). In highlighting these concerns, lack of independence in the coverage was necessary, and was, therefore, not unethical reportage.

In the two reports analysed as unbalanced, the study applied Stroud and Reese (sa), whose stance on balance is summed up as "the notion of balance, however, suggests that the truth may be found by juxtaposing two competing truth claims". The lack of balance was also measured when applying the question by Stroud and Reese (sa): "Why did the news outlet broadcast one candidate's speech and not another candidate's speech?". Article 3(1) in the *City Press* was measured as unbalanced for its attack on the opposition policies and manifestos, without

providing evidence. It pointed to one-side reporting and the paper's support of Zuma, irrespective of the Public Protector's lawful report. Consistent with Stroud and Reese (sa), it did not provide two competing claims, or create clear understanding for the reader. Article 1 in the *Sunday Times* highlighted the DA shortfalls without a response from them to defend themselves against the assertions made, and thus, again, an articulation of both sides of the story was omitted. Nevertheless, in both articles, the lack of balance did not weaken the veracity of the event and it sufficiently informed and educated readers without telling them who to vote.

Secondly, to address the Social responsibility and Libertarian paradigms, according to the Press code in South Africa by Thloloe (2012:159), public interest was observed, describing the information "of importance to the citizen" (the social responsibility role of the press). The study argues that the information role of the press was upheld legitimately, to the extent of reporting on the events truthfully, accessing relevant sources, relying on statistics and highlighting background information. There was no "unnecessary harm" to any of the participants in the twelve reports. The "multiplicity of voices" was largely observed by quotes from the main participants and sources in the stories. The five reports that were not independent were critical of the existent issues of corruption and mismanagement by the state and fulfilled a libertarian role, incorporating the function of the press. The facts were not "distorted" or "exaggerated" (Oosthuizen, 2002:121), verifiable through statistics and past information. It is clear that both roles have been observed and also intersect in the election analysis.

Finally, to the extent of being consistent with the Press Code 2016 in South Africa, the overall reportage in the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* did not contravene what is legally permissible in press reporting in South Africa. The findings of the analysis show that, the press was overall ethical in the election reporting. Largely, in line with Retief (2002:35), all twelve reports it did not report on an "ad hoc" basis, where images and sources quoted, corroborate the veracity of the information, irrespective of the lack of independence and balance. The writers did not speak for the readers or tell the readers who to vote. The reportage did not violate the privacy of the actors in its watchdog role and upheld the formality of straight hard news reports. The main tenet is that the press remain truthful, balanced and independent, performing a social responsibility and libertarian function with the aim of upholding ethical reporting for the elections. This thesis argues that, according to the findings

of the CDA, ethics was principally upheld by the print media in the form of the newspapers for the elections.

Thus, to answer the main research question and subsequently address the main research issue, it is the finding of this study that the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* prudently upheld ethical reporting in line with the Press Code 2016 in South Africa, to the extent that it reported truthfully and reasonably applied balance and independence to a greater extent, thereby upholding social responsibility and libertarian journalism, when reporting on South Africa's 2014 General Elections in the front page hard news reports, for the cross sectional time-frame of 13 April to the 11 May, 2014.

6.5 AN EVALUATION OF CDA AS A METHOD AND THEORY

CDA as a methodology for this study on ethical press coverage for the elections, has proven the most fitting. CDA has established that a connection between language use and ideology does indeed exist and that such ideologies can be extracted using this method. The elections is a social platform that places a spotlight on political, media and cultural institutions in South Africa. Van Dijk (1990) and Fairclough (1989) have confirmed that a relationship does indeed subsist amongst society, politics, culture and language. This validates this study's selection of the election context for determining ethical or unethical press reporting. Language functions within social dimensions, so, it reflects ideology. CDA has allowed this study to focus on the signifiers constructing the text, including the language selections, how they are positioned and juxtaposed to the images and quotes, as well as the layout and the sequence of words. The assessment has highlighted a link between the language used by the journalists and the socio-political context in SA. The CDA has therefore argued that, such connections did impact on how the elections was reported, which translated to how ethical the coverage was. This research has, thus, established that language is capable of highlighting certain veiled interpretations within the straight, front page, hard news reports. Language has undeniably proven to be a conveyer for advancing certain ideologies, social or political institutions and misrepresenting the truth.

Therefore, this researcher argues that CDA has enormous value to socio-cultural studies. Rahimi and Riasati [2011] write that "CDA studies is a call for the readers to be aware and conscious of different aspects a text production such as the writer's socio-political background, the historical setting, and the cultural tendencies". CDA as a method has the ability to sensitise the reader to any manipulation of the messages in the discourse or any misinformation, thereby

allowing for critical thinking and raising the awareness of readers. This is useful for elections as well as other social problems, where democracy depends on an unbiased free press who do not distort the truth or promote certain political parties and ideologies. This is tantamount to unethical reporting. Herein, CDA has the capacity to allow readers and voters to become more perceptive to the partisan and prejudiced discourse.

As per the views of Rahimi and Riasati [2011], “it can be a theory for finding the manners in which the attitudes, political powers and identities cause sociolinguistic variations in different communities”. As a theory, this researcher argues that, CDA’s future use within the communication science field is vital and can be combined with other approaches to discourse analysis in the field of language. There is no fixed method for applying CDA as it is a multidisciplinary approach that varies in different studies in different situational contexts. This is echoed by Al Ghazali (2007) who argues that Fairclough’s approach helps identify underlying ideologies in the production of the discourse but argues that this needs to be supported by the works of other “linguists” for a “complete analysis”. Al Ghazali (2007) imparts that “Halliday (1978), for example, adopts a theory for CDA in which he enhances the relationship between form, function and context” adding “that is, the relationship between language and its social context can be further examined by analysing how texts are structured and shaped in order to achieve the goals and purposes laid on them”. Van Dijk (sa) reverberates this argument that “integration of various approaches is therefore very important to arrive at a satisfactory form of multidisciplinary CDA”.

6.6 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, the findings of the CDA have shown that the *City Press Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* have ensured truth, balance and independence to a greater extent and applied their social responsibility and libertarian roles for the main headline, front page news reports to uphold ethical reporting on the 2014 General Elections in South Africa. The Social Responsibility and Libertarian frameworks, used as a form of triangulation, reveal that the libertarian role is evident in five reports while social responsibility is applied in all twelve articles. The frameworks, which have provided a suitable theoretical basis for ethics in press reporting, have also supported the results of the CDA and determined that unethical reportage was not evident. The study, thus, also proposed the integration of both theories and the incorporation of the Developmental Journalism model. The research argues that, combining principals of all three models can still encourage critical reporting while supporting national

developmental objectives, with the goal of ethical and responsible reporting on the elections for public interest and nation building. Finally, this chapter has also answered the main research question and secondary questions. The overall conclusion is presented in the following Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes the aims of the thesis by revisiting the main research issue, incorporating the theoretical framework underpinning it. It extends from Chapter 6 on the findings which answered the research questions. Recommendations and the study's contribution to the knowledge and theory of Communication Science are further provided in this concluding section.

7.1.1 Aims of the study revisited

The present study investigated whether the press reported ethically or unethically on the 2014 General elections in SA, using the methodology of CDA. There are three elements that successfully answer the research questions and conclude this study, that is, the ethical dimensions of truth, balance and independence; the theoretical framework of the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories); and the proposed Developmental Journalism model. The findings are based on the criteria provided by Fairclough (1989) and Van Dijk (1990). Eight of the twelve articles across all three papers lacked independence, while two were unbalanced. But, as the analysis has shown, the lack of independence highlighted by the CDA criteria, deals with contextual problems. These are mainly influenced by state corruption in the form of Nkandla. It must be reiterated that the President's Nkandla homestead has had huge social implications as it dealt with the misuse of tax payer's money to fund the refurbishments and was justifiably presumed by the newspapers in the study to have negatively impacted voting for the ANC. Moreover, background on the 1970's information ministry, previous elections, mismanagement and poor governance of the state are important because, among others, they highlight the ideology of apartheid, poor governance of the current administration - incorporating grassroots issues of education, service delivery and crime, among others. Such social factors severely impact citizens if not addressed by the government. Voters, therefore, need such information for making firm electoral choices and the press are duty-bound as the Fourth Estate to report these events truthfully and impartially, underscoring the principle of the 'public's right to know'. Thus, the lack of the ethical dimension of independence relates to the twelve reports delivering stories 'within context', in the public's interest and in compliance with the Press Code and was thus, not evaluated as unethical.

The unbalanced report in the *Sunday Times*, although providing a one-sided perspective of the ANC visit to Cape Town and highlighting DA failings, is not untruthful and based on verifiable information. The *City Press*, even though subjectively imparting an opinion, informed readers of the ANC event. That the event took place, with the verifiable details of the event stated in the article, does not constitute fabrications. Both articles were not in conflict with the Press code and were in the public interest.

Based on the CDA analysis, the study proves that, even though the grammatical arrangement of the language in the articles undeniably express journalistic ideologies subliminally, it largely conformed to truthful, balanced and independent election reporting. All three papers highlighted the necessary government failures regarding the people, did not promote an “us versus them” ideology, did not tell the reader who to vote for and reported in a manner that allowed readers to formulate their own estimations. The approach to the hard news reports on elections generally conformed to the conventions of straight news reporting. The ethical dimensions of truth, balance and independence do not point to unethical press reporting for the 2014 elections. However, the findings cannot be generalised to all media or all national newspaper as it is specific to the *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian*.

The second major point is that social responsibility and libertarian roles were fulfilled independently in some articles and are interconnected in others. All reports principally fulfilled a social responsibility role by informing readers on election issues such as party figures, political candidates and the polls, while autonomous libertarian reporting was evident in five of the twelve reports. At this juncture, it is important to note that a key discussion in the SA media-political landscape is, which role is more important for the press should play. While there is agreement by both the state and the press that the freedom of the press is necessary for democracy, as noted in news Article 3 in the *Sunday Times*, the state would ideally prefer a media promoting national developmental objectives as evidenced in Prinsloo (2014). This, however, contrasts with press goals and values as the Fourth Estate. According to Wasserman (2010:73) “according to the professional normative framework guiding South African journalism, the media’s primary obligation is the surveillance of state power” adding “this orthodox “independent watchdog” or “Fourth Estate” role, articulated over and over in post-apartheid media debates, means that appeals to the media for more active involvement in transformation or development are met with resistance”. But De Beer et al., (2016), has pointed out that developmentally oriented journalism encompassing social responsibility and watchdog

goals could still be critical of government. The study finds that both models are not mutually exclusive in the media-political landscape in SA and combination thereof is needed for adequately informing and educating the voter and broader public for the elections. This is evident in the analysis. This argument dovetails precisely to the third and final aim of a proposed model for the press detailed below.

The final point is this study's proposition of the Developmental Journalism model that incorporates the Social Responsibility and the Libertarian theories to sufficiently address unethical press reporting during elections. The developmental model embraces developmental goals of the state to advance economic progress. The findings show that only one report (Article 4, *Mail & Guardian*) advances development journalism goals. Possible reasons as to why this model is not actively used by the press is illuminated by Wasserman (2010:72) who argues that the normative framework of surveillance and a "liberal- democratic view of independence" and neutrality is what guides South African journalism and which "underpins South African media ethical frameworks". According to Wasserman (2010:72) their role as a neutral channel of information prohibits them from advancing "political, civil, and social aspects" related to nationality and social responsibility. For him, arguments for a media that is more actively involved in promoting developmentally focused reportage is met with condescension. According to Wasserman (2010:73) "such appeals are either framed in terms of governmental interference and interpreted as pressure to tone down criticism, or as inconsequential "sunshine journalism". It is clear that there is a way to go in incorporating the communal values entrenched in Ubuntu journalism since investigative journalism and free speech in SA is more accepting of the Western theories of Libertarianism. The critical stance of the press found in this study adopts a watchdog role and public interest more than that of developmental journalism.

Thus, the study argues for a common ground where the Social Responsibility and Libertarian models incorporate the principles of the Developmental Journalism model, to effectively and equitably support the national development objective and promote both state and public interest, for the welfare of SA. This researcher argues that a press that supports developmental goals can simultaneously remain a watchdog and report in a socially responsible way, while still retaining its freedom. This entails supporting developmental goals as long as the common goal is the economic progress and social welfare of the nation, while still being able to exercise its duty as the Fourth Estate and expose the state should it fail in its duties. Consequently, more

should be done by the press to incorporate developmental journalism for the important election platform, if national development goals progress society and harmonise with democracy. Therefore, the South African press must engage more effectively on public issues, while still honouring their ethical obligation to libertarianism and watchdog journalism. This makes criticisms of the press by the state and the threats of regulation thereof, challenging to justify and reinforce. Should the press become more engaged and supportive of the abovementioned combined models, it could likely address the concerns highlighted by Duncan (2015), Radu and Bird (2014) and MMA (2014) on scant election reporting on important social issues.

7.1.3 Recommendations

Both the Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories ought to be examined in more detail in further studies. The Libertarian watchdog journalism is seen by the state as too critical and aggressive toward them. Press freedom is a multifaceted issue, and democracy in SA – given the past history of apartheid and the limitations placed on the press then – has shaped a press that guards its freedom vigorously. This study has found that the Social Responsibility and Libertarian models are useful, as it firstly, allows the press to be critical and serve as a guard over the state, given our current condition of state capture and corruption. Secondly, it expects the press to be more socially responsible to the public, informing and educating them on matters that affect their lives and backs constructive state endeavours that positively support the constituents. Thus, this study has found that both models are equally important for the South African press to perform satisfactorily and uphold democracy. The research shows that there is agreement within South African journalism that there is a connection between both models in the press landscape. As such, more studies on the press's position on watchdog journalism and nation building will be informative and useful to realise a more definitive and critical yet socially responsible model that fits into the current press context.

More studies can be undertaken into developmental journalism in line with promoting communal issues, given that the press view themselves as the vanguard of public interest. It also speaks to African philosophies of Ubuntu and community, which should not be overlooked in applying developmental journalism because it points to a progressive press and essentially, is a more inclusive way of looking at democracy in South Africa and being ethical and responsible to the benefit of the nation.

The value of CDA is that it creates awareness for the researcher of social or political problems and how social contexts play a role in how the discourse is structured in the press and further, has the skills to highlight and address such issues. For example, Van Dijk (sa) imparts that “CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society”. It can be applied to diverse media analysis studies. With regard to the elections, further studies using the qualitative CDA methodology can include in-depth interviews with reporters or editors above newspaper analysis in giving more support to such studies.

Further studies can also focus on editorials or opinion and analysis to determine ethical or unethical reporting. The aim of this thesis was to determine if the press reported ethically or unethically, specifically on the front page straight news articles on the elections.

7.1.4 Contribution of the Study to Knowledge and Theory of Communication and Ethics

The press as a form of mass communication to large segments of the public can make contributions through its information dissemination and education function. The study is able to show that social, cultural and historical contexts can influence perceptions and that the reader’s ability to understand and interpret the news should not be uncritically assumed. Thus, the concern is whether the press can assist the electorate with proper election coverage. In this light, Semetko (2009:27) argues:

Best practices in media coverage of elections can contribute towards a larger media literacy education campaign, to enhance citizens’ awareness and abilities to reflect critically upon the information before them. Such a project would bring together media professionals and expert researchers on media in elections to identify international standards for election news reporting, and best examples to be shared.

The above description is able to convey that the overall media play a fundamental role advancing a free and fair election and thus, strengthening democracy. Such “best practices” necessary in South Africa include, reporting not only the shortfalls, but also the successes of the state, in addition to giving a platform to the voter and civil society to voice their concerns during elections. This also helps ensure that the focus is not only on party campaigns and political figures. Wasserman (2017:73) writes of tabloid’s success as “getting involved in the communities they serve and striving toward developmental goals”. While Wasserman (2017) speaks of tabloids, this researcher argues that its principle can be applied to the national broadsheets with regards to becoming more responsive to the communities and promoting developmental goals that support such communities. Principally, the main news articles

investigated in the selected broadsheets in this study was lacking in terms of how it reported on issues affecting the communities during the election. This could counter the presumed bias of the press by the state and follow through of press regulation. By fulfilling the information and education role, the press upholds the principles of the Press Code in South Africa and displays ethical responsibility.

Hence, this study's contribution to knowledge and theory in Communication is the adoption of the Social Responsibility and Libertarian theories within Communication Science, but incorporating a variation that integrates Developmental Journalism. By researching ethical or unethical conduct of newspapers, the study contributes to the discussion of an advocacy (supporting) role of the press in addition to the information and education role, and further adopting developmental journalism more constructively to progress the nation. The study finds that the Social Responsibility and Libertarian theories allow the press to evaluate its ethical role, guided by the normative discourse provided by Siebert et al., (1963), notwithstanding the criticisms of this theory. Finally, this thesis contends that the traditional press, that is, the newspaper, is still an important medium means of journalism in South Africa. This researcher argues this position despite the impact of social media and online news and online media becoming a format for fabricated news (fake news), misinformation, and where fact-checking is arguably, disregarded.

7.2 CONCLUSION

The goal of this thesis was to determine whether the press reported ethically or unethically on South Africa's 2014 General Elections. The results of the CDA show that the ethical dimensions of truth, balance and independence were largely upheld, confirming an adherence to ethical press reporting. This is verified by principles of Black et al., (1995) and Stroud and Reese (sa), in all three newspapers. The results are also underpinned by the Press Code 2016 and the Press code Preamble (2012). The *City Press*, *Sunday Times* and the *Mail & Guardian* newspapers were not disproportionately critical or untruthfully, nor did any display political parallelism by endorsing a political party, as proposed by Hadland (2012). The articles in the analysis were equally critical of all parties which, rightly, is in the public interest.

The fundamental idea behind an evaluation of ethics for elections was underpinned by the accusations of biased and insufficient reporting by the state and academic opinion respectively. The press, by government estimation, is biased and, as such, the unethical connotation will

arguably remain attached until the state is satisfied with a press that supports developmental goals and aligns with state opinion and interests. However, this researcher argues that the dynamic and critical nature of the press is necessary and contends that the subsequent tensions between the press and the state is healthy for democracy, as it reminds both institutions of their role in achieving positive social change. The study contends that the press can, in light of the attack on them, be more responsive to the state, by applying a more developmentally focused journalism, while upholding their ethical ethos, incorporating the public's right to know and independence. Journalists hold the means to report on events in a manner that engages and educates society and assists in bringing about positive change, in a moral ethical voice. However, this researcher acknowledges that this model centres on how much freedom the press should be awarded and to what extent they should support state interest or be controlled by them. Nevertheless, with the proposed developmental journalism model, the hope is that South African journalism can find the common ground between freedom of the media and responsibility to society for social issues such as health, education, employment, economic issues, service delivery and housing, among others, for the betterment of society, improving the quality of lives and upholding democracy.

In conclusion, the words of Evelyn Beatrice Hall in Tallentyre (1906:198), "I disapprove of what you say, but I'll defend to death your right to say it", can be appositely ascribed to the freedom of the press in South Africa and indeed, the world. A media regulated by the state will be in a dangerous position without its freedom. The press must, therefore, always be mindful that, as stewards of public interest, they must be ethical toward all whom they report on. The election was just one platform in society used by this study to determine this. In ending, the words of Russell (1994:196) are noteworthy: "most people seem to agree that freedom of the media has a very specific purpose: to protect democracy".

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APPENDIX A: CITY PRESS

Article 1: (13 April, 2014, front page and continued to Page 2)

STAFF LASH SABC FOR 'TAKING SIDES'

Elections
2014
!

- Crowds attending opposition election rallies ignored
- Broadcaster bans DA ad, claiming it will incite violence
- EFF manifesto launch was denied live coverage

RAPULE TABANE
rapule.tabane@citypress.co.za

Senior SABC news executives say they have been ordered not to broadcast footage of the crowds attending opposition election rallies.

This instruction - and SABC board chairperson Ellen Tshabalala's warning to news staff that their cellphones were being monitored - has underlined the controversial role the public broadcaster is playing in this year's elections.

The SABC has become the focal point of the elections after its journalists alleged political interference in their work.

Three senior SABC news executives, who spoke on condition of anonymity for fear of losing their jobs, told City Press of other examples of what they claim is extensive political interference. These include:

- A controversial new instruction, issued earlier this year, that new parties that do not yet have representation in Parliament are not entitled to live coverage of their manifesto launches.

Parties like the Economic Freedom Fighters were denied live coverage.

- Senior managers told staff in regional SABC offices to ignore election coverage decisions taken in daily editorial meetings.

- Controversial chief operations officer Hlaudi Motsoeneng this week issued an instruction that the news department should no longer cover "violent" service-delivery protests, saying it was serving no purpose.

- Interference by SABC board chairperson Tshabalala, who warned news staff that their cellphones were being monitored because they work for a national key point.



Ellen Tshabalala

The public broadcaster yesterday became embroiled in yet another controversy after it banned a DA campaign advertisement in which its Gauteng premier candidate, Mmusi Maimane, said "(President Jacob) Zuma is corrupt and is taking us backwards". This follows the Public Protector's finding that Zuma and his family improperly benefited from the more than R200 million the state spent on his home in Nkandla.

The DA yesterday appealed to communications watchdog Icas for a ruling on the matter.

The three news executives say that "numerous instances of interference in their work" pushed staff to fight back against their bosses at a three-day elections workshop last month.

They extracted an undertaking from senior managers that they would act in accordance with the public broadcasting mandate as set out in the Broadcasting Act, the Icas Act and the SABC's editorial policies.

The three news executives said the move was prompted after staff felt that Motsoeneng's tight control of news was getting out of hand.

Continued on page 2

BUILDING BURNT BRIDGES



Juju takes on Zuma in the Eastern Cape

Economic Freedom Fighters leader Julius Malema travelled to 97-year-old Epainette Mbeki's home in Nqungwana, Durrwa, on Friday to apologise to her for all the nasty things he said about her son, former president Thabo Mbeki (pictured above). See page 2 for how Malema and President Jacob Zuma campaigned head-to-head in the Eastern Cape this week.

Article 1 continued on Page 2 (below)

Staff lash SABC for 'taking sides'

From page 1

This was after an instruction, attributed to Motsoeneng, that camera shots showing the crowds at opposition rallies should not be aired.

The instruction adds that opposition party leaders should be shown speaking on stage or that they be interviewed after the rally.

But this rule did not apply to the ANC.

The staff also said that in a deliberate move to prevent the coverage of the EFF, an instruction was issued this year that only parties with a 1% representation in Parliament would enjoy coverage of their manifesto launches.

But staff pointed out that in 2009, the Congress of the People's manifesto launch was well covered even though the party had no parliamentary representation.

Staff members question the decision to stop showing images of violent service-delivery protests.

"Why is the SABC getting involved in this? Why should we not show violent protests?" asked an editor.

SABC spokesperson Kaizer Kgan-yago denied all the allegations. He insisted that the public broadcaster was acting in accordance with Icasa and IEC regulations.

"There is no truth in the fact that the opposition parties' crowds are not shown. This is just trying to find fault with the SABC," he said.

"On the issue of regulation, I have indicated in my response that elections are regulated by Icasa and the Independent Electoral Commission. The SABC does not make regulations for the election.

"They are made by Icasa and the IEC in consultation with political parties. All we do is to implement them," he said.

This week, SABC news staff told City Press they were shocked by Tshabalala's warning at a meeting in January that their cellphones were being monitored because they work for a national key point.

"She is worse than Hlaudi. She has no idea what being a board member means," said an editor.

At their election workshop last month, editorial management team members adopted an extensive resolution that they presented to head of news, Jimi Matthews, in which they said they aimed to protect their editorial independence and integrity.

The resolution states: "We reject direct or indirect interference by any political party in the editorial decisions of any part of the SABC news team."

"We will not allow commercial, political or personal considerations to influence editorial decisions. We therefore reject any undue attempts to influence editorial decisions."

But Kganyago said: "The document you are referring to was a reminder to the newsroom that during elections, it is in the nature of politicians to try to exert influence over journalists."

"The document was a reminder of the editorial values that govern the newsroom and a commitment to adhere to those values."

Motsoeneng did not answer his phone yesterday.

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DA FLIRTS WITH EFF

ELECTION 2014

A **coalition** is one way to go to challenge the ANC if it gets less than 50%

48%
• What the ANC may win, according to its internal polls

37%
• What the DA may win, according to its internal polls

Jacob Zuma

Helen Zille

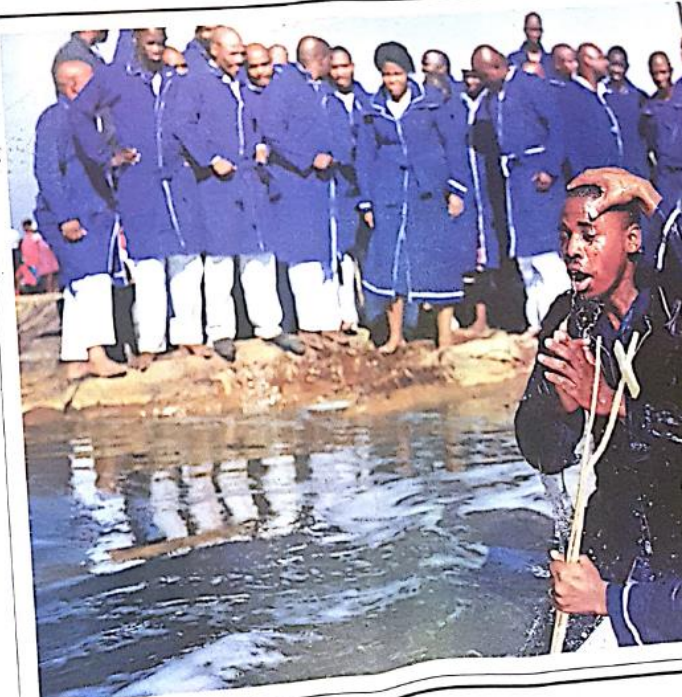
MARYNA LAMPRECHT, SABELO NDLANGISA and CARIEN DU PLESSIS
news@citypress.co.za

The DA in Gauteng is flirting with the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) ahead of the elections, in what could end up as a coalition of strange bedfellows.

DA Gauteng premier candidate Mmusi Maimane has admitted that the issue of a coalition government has come up in informal conversations between himself and leaders of the EFF and the ANC.

A coalition government in South Africa's economic heartland will be necessary if the ANC garners less than 50% support in the May 7 elections.

Continued on page 2



DA FLIRTS WITH EFF

Opposition **gears up to talk** about a coalition, but EFF says it will cross that bridge when the time comes



EASTER FEASTER
Helen Zille gave out Easter treats to patients at Mitchell's Plain District Hospital at the weekend. Siyamthanda Sibidla was thrilled to get one. The DA and EFF have been flirting with the idea of a Gauteng coalition
PHOTO: DENVOR DE WEE

From page 1

'Dali [Mpofu, EFF premier candidate] and I go to enough events together, so it comes up in conversation," Maimane said. "There is a sense of collegiality about job creation and corruption. As opposition parties, we are against a government that is corrupt in the main."

However, Maimane did say that this was a personal view.

DA leader Helen Zille said the party would consider coalitions, but only under "very clear conditions". "If we cannot get the critical portfolios we need to do our work properly, we would rather stay in opposition."

"There is only one thing worse than losing an election and that's an unstable, irreconcilable coalition torn apart by internal conflict and unable to govern."

DA leaders in Gauteng told City Press the party was willing to enter into a coalition with the ANC, or even the EFF in the province, in exchange for "critical positions" in portfolios like education and health.

Internal and external polls in the past month show the ANC's support in Gauteng fluctuating between 48% and 52%. The province has 6 million registered voters, making it a prime election prize.

There are serious divisions in the DA's leadership over a suitable partner for the party if, for the first time in 20 years, the ANC does not win an absolute majority (51%) in Gauteng.

Young Turks in the DA's federal council said they would "rather work with the EFF any day than with the ANC".

But the more experienced council members believed a coalition with the EFF was "inconceivable" and would result in "absolute chaos".

City Press sister publication Rapport understands from sources in the DA's federal council, as well as national and parliamentary leadership, that:

- Senior DA candidates in Gauteng have been in discussions with Mpofu regularly. The talks have apparently been "positive".
- The federal council has already appointed a "small group of people" to consider every possible coalition scenario and the party is in the process of putting together a negotiating team to handle the mediation with possible coalition partners.
- According to a senior member of the federal



Our talks are to see if we can reach a point where we can agree

JOHN MOODEY

TALK TO US

How long do you think a marriage between the DA and the EFF would last?

SMS your comment to 34263 @ R1.50 per SMS, or go to www.citypress.co.za

council, any coalition agreement would be made under strict conditions and "in the best interests of DA voters in Gauteng".

The DA apparently realises that a coalition with President Jacob Zuma's ANC or Julius Malema's EFF could severely antagonise, or even alienate its supporters.

Young members in the DA leadership feel that the EFF is harmless at provincial level since it would not be able to carry out its more radical policies, such as nationalisation and land expropriation, unless it was in national government.

Older members of the DA's federal council believed there was a "slim chance" of a coalition with the ANC working, while a coalition with the EFF would be a big mistake.

Mpofu, who with Floyd Shivambu is a negotiator for the EFF, denied that any negotiations with the DA about possible coalitions were under way before the elections.

"If we have to adopt coalitions, then we'll have to cross the bridge at that time. Whoever is in a coalition with us must accept our principles of land expropriation, nationalisation, free education, and so on," he said.

However, an EFF national leader, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said whatever negotiations were under way at the moment were informal. He said the party would rather wait for the elections to know how it had performed before it entered into any pacts.

He also said the party envisaged a scenario where the opposition rallied behind it and ruled Gauteng together.

"But the DA's bosses in Stellenbosch are likely to say the ANC is closer to them than the EFF," he said.

He said in that case, the ANC and the DA would govern together while the EFF built its support from the opposition benches.

Mpofu said he had not spoken to Maimane and would prefer talks only after the elections.

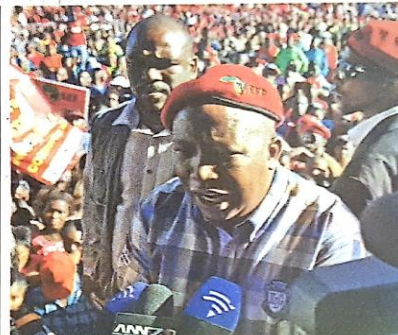
Gauteng DA leader John Moodey said Maimane was part of the talks with the EFF and other smaller parties to try to determine "where we are in agreement".

"Our talks are to see if we can reach a point where we can agree," he said.

David Makhura, Gauteng ANC secretary and premier candidate, said a coalition government was not on the cards.

"We are not planning to get anything less than 60%. We are not planning a coalition. We have fundamental differences with all the other parties contesting the election," he said.

Elections 2014: THE FINAL PUSH



The final push



With just more than a week to go until the elections, political parties are pulling out all the stops in a last-minute drive to get more votes. **Paddy Harper, Sabelo Ndlangisa and Carien du Plessis** follow the final campaign trail

On Wednesday afternoon at a tiny stadium in Langeoep in Nkomazi on Mpumalanga's Wild Frontier, President Jacob Zuma finally - and rather emphatically - got the Nkandla monkey off his back and the ruling party's back.

Until Wednesday, the president had generally steered away from talking about the Public Protector's report into the R245 million security upgrade at his home while on the campaign trail across the country, dealing with questions but not dwelling on the matter. Zuma had, in comparison to the messianic figure he cut during the 2009 and 2011 campaigns, come across as tired and embittered, a president under pressure who was almost a hollow image of himself. The constant pressure over Nkandla and the other scandals of his chaotic first five years in office seemed to have gotten to him.

Zuma had also, unlike in earlier campaigns, started getting stuck into the opposition himself. Since assuming power, he had left the close combat with the Helen Zille's of this world to figures like Julius Malema and Blade Nzimande, never giving them the credibility of tackling them himself. But the past few months have seen Zuma acting as his own pit bull, going for the opposition in virtually every speech.

At Langeoep, this all changed. In front of the several thousand locals who had turned out to catch a glimpse of the ANC president, a visibly invigorated and emboldened Zuma used Nkandla as a stick with which to smite his and the ruling party's enemies.

Flanked by Mpumalanga Premier David Mabuza and State Security Minister Siyabonga Cwele, Zuma tore into the opposition parties - without dignifying any by naming them - for using Nkandla as a campaign tool.

These "people who talk a lot" had cynically and deliberately jumped the gun in a calculated deflection, accusing him of corruption before the Special Investigation Unit had wrapped up its work to cover up for the thinness of the manifestos and policy packages.

"They talk about Nkandla as if Nkandla will win them the elections. All they say is Nkandla, Nkandla, Nkandla, Nkandla," Zuma said. The audience went silent for a second



VOTE CRUSADE
President Jacob Zuma stops at the Motaung family's home during his door-to-door visits in Duduza, Gauteng
PHOTOS: MUNTU VLAKAZI

Zuma turns Nkandla around



64%

• What the ANC is expected to win in the May 7 elections

and then applauded loudly. The president was his own wrecking ball as he gutted his critics, punctuating his delivery with timed outbursts of "Nkandla, Nkandla, Nkandla, we name". The audience lapped it up.

In a brief post-rally media briefing, Zuma continued to press home the attack.

There was a spring in Zuma's step as he surged away from the TV cameras, swinging a stick he had been given by traditional leaders from the region in a fluid move and joking with his bodyguards as he prepared to leave for Pretoria ahead of Thursday's campaigning in the Northern Cape.

Granted, the rally was a home fixture - the ANC took 85,8% in Mpumalanga in 2009 and 78,9% in 2011 and was talking 90% and above during this visit.

In Tsakane shopping mall in Gauteng, Zuma charmed a book vendor Zandile Mnisi with his purchases: a Zulu Bible and a copy of A Divine Revelation of Heaven by Mary K Baxter. - Paddy Harper

Complacency breeds defeat in an election, DA leader Helen Zille has reminded a crowd of largely coloured supporters in Cape Town as she urged them to go out and vote on May 7.

The DA held its last big rally in its Western Cape heartland yesterday, comprising a show of confetti, singing by popular artists like Eno Adams and a performance by a Matenbergh minstrel band.

About 7 000 mostly coloured supporters from the Cape Flats filled the Bellville Velodrome, where Zille reminded the audience that the DA's majority in the province was small.

"In the last election in 2009 we only got just over 50%. Ons het dit naelskraap gemaak, ngecip ngecip [We made it by the skin of our teeth, only just].

"We can do it again. We can get over 50% on the 7th of May but if we want to do so we need every single DA voter to come out and vote to keep the Cape blue," said Zille.

The DA leader seemed to be in her element yesterday as she sang her trademark Koekie Loekie to the audience after she stepped onto the stage.

The party's own tracking polls indicate that it (the DA) is nowhere near the 30% of the vote it initially wanted - insiders say the party would be lucky to make 25% nationally. This would still be a large increase from the 2009 polls, when it got 16.7% of the vote.

In the Western Cape party leaders claim that polls show the party would comfortably get over 50%. Provincial ANC pollsters claim, however, that their latest polls just out indicate that the DA could drop as low as 42% and that the ANC could get as high as 39% and even govern in a coalition government.

ANC insiders reckon that a changing provincial demographic - more black people, traditionally ANC voters, have moved into the province in the past five years - and a highly activist campaign would raise the party's percentage.

On both a psychological and a tactical level it is important for the DA to retain the province, which it has used as a



ONE-ON-ONE
Helen Zille confronts an ANC loyalist (left). She also met 100-year-old Sophia Johannes (below) at Mamre
PHOTOS: DENVOR DE WEE

Zille warns against complacency



23%

• What the DA is expected to win in the May 7 elections

showcase for what it could do for the country if in government.

Zille spent Thursday and Friday doing door-to-door campaigning in mostly coloured middle- and working class areas in Atlantis, Prince Alfred Hamlet outside Ceres, and Worcester in the Boland where she was received warmly.

A resident who attended her impromptu rally at one of the many pink municipal flats in Roodewal in Worcester said Zille had a good reception not just because of the cupcakes and DA T-shirts that were handed out, but because she visited communities even outside of elections time.

Zille is expected in the coming week to direct her energies at two more things: selling the jobs message and fighting the Icasa ruling that the party's "Ayisafani" ad should be taken off air.

She moves to Gauteng, the Eastern Cape and the Northern Cape in the next few days to wrap up her campaign.

Julius Malema's lacklustre campaign in the ANC heartland of KwaZulu-Natal has failed to win the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) new supporters ahead of next week's elections.

Malema's presence in eThekweni seemed to be a strategy calculated to eat away at the edges of the ANC's support in peripheral areas like informal settlements, or among groups like university students. His campaign trail did not hit big and established townships like KwaMashu and Umlazi, where the ANC enjoys a lot of support.

At both the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the Durban University of Technology (DUT), EFF supporters found their ANC Youth League rivals ready to disrupt their campaign.

But as Malema suggested when he spoke to DUT students on Friday, the whole point of the KwaZulu-Natal campaign was more psychological than anything else. After all, under President Jacob Zuma, the province has emerged as the ANC's stronghold.

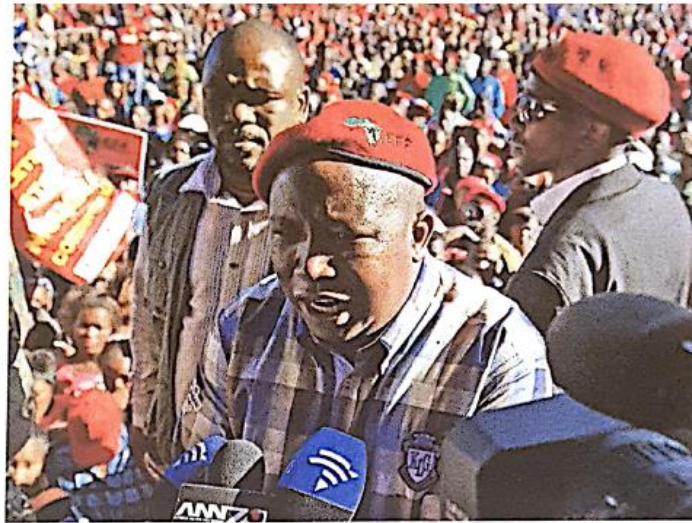
"We came here to say we do exist in KwaZulu-Natal, including in Nkandla. We are not going to allow a situation where the ANC turns KwaZulu-Natal into a no-go area."

Later in his speech, Malema would grudgingly admit that it was impossible to escape the presence of his former political party in the province during his somewhat disorganised campaign.

"If we go to Umlazi, they will come to Umlazi. They are paying for the price of killing the ANC Youth League... They are failing because they don't have a youth, they have an old youth," Malema said to applause from the crowd huddled in one of the DUT lecture rooms to hear him speak under heavy police guard.

The applause he got from his supporters and sympathisers emboldened him to take pot shots at Zuma, even though some of his jibes seemed to make some of the students uncomfortable.

"They say to you do it for [Nelson] Mandela, your parents have done it for Mandela. They say do it for [Chris] Hani. They must say to us do it for Zuma. If you vote for them, you are doing it for Zuma. If Zuma's credentials are so beautiful... why are they afraid to say do it for Zuma?" he said.



RED ROUTE EFF leader Julius Malema during an election rally in Lentegur in Cape Town yesterday
PHOTOS: DENVOR DE WEE

Juju makes a statement in KZN



7%

• What the EFF is expected to win in the May 7 elections

The money spent on the kraal at Nkandla, he says, could have been used to pay the fees of some poor students.

His rhetoric struck a chord as some of the students had come to hear him explain how he could make the national student loan system work in their favour. Some of the students told City Press they were undecided voters, and would vote for any party that addressed their financial needs.

There is a method to Malema's anti-Zuma madness. When his campaign went to informal settlements - which have big migrant populations mainly from the neighbouring Eastern Cape - he avoided mocking the man that he once pledged to kill for when he was still the darling of the ANC.

Malema told a small crowd at the Lamontville Transit Camp that their lot would be improved by the advent of economic freedom. "We want land to be returned to you and your children to get work." - Sabelo Ndlangisa

HOW WE'LL VOTE



There are 10.5 million unregistered, but eligible, voters – 42% of whom told Ipsos they would have voted for the ANC. This makes them the election's largest swing group

63.4%

Percentage of the national vote the ANC is expected to win, according to the latest Ipsos poll

23%

Percentage of the national vote the DA is expected to win, according to the latest Ipsos poll

GAUTENG

58%

What the ANC is expected to win to retain its majority

WESTERN CAPE

65%

What the DA is expected to win to retain its majority

NORTHERN CAPE

62%

What the ANC is expected to win to retain its majority

SABELO NDLANGISA and CARIEN DU PLESSIS

sabelo.ndlangisa@citypress.co.za
carien.duplessis@citypress.co.za

After one of the most hard-fought elections, the ANC looks set to retain its more than 60% electoral majority in Parliament despite the scandals that have engulfed it under President Jacob Zuma's leadership. The latest survey by pollster Ipsos puts the ANC's electoral support at 63.4% in the case of a moderate voter turnout, the DA's at 23% and the Economic Freedom Fighters' (EFF) at just under 5%.

While the DA is still confident of a good showing in Gauteng and Northern Cape, indications are that it will not dislodge the ANC from power in these provinces. In Western Cape, the ANC's hope of reversing its losses from the 2009 elections will be dealt a blow as the DA is set to hold on to the only province it governs and increase its dominance.

Voter turnout could also affect the final outcome, with higher turnout favouring the ANC in Gauteng. But nationally, a high voter turnout will favour opposition parties.

The survey was completed at the end of March, before the last lap of campaigning.

Polling by the ANC, as well as surveys by opposition parties and independent pollsters, had pegged the ANC's support at below 60% at the end of last year. The ANC's support was also expected to be heavily dented by scandals like the R246 million upgrade to Zuma's Nkandla home.

The ANC also looks set to keep Gauteng and Northern Cape, which the DA had aimed to win (see page 2).

But DA leader Helen Zille is not giving up yet, saying if every one of her party's voters turns out on Wednesday, ANC support in Gauteng and Northern Cape could fall to under 50%.

After the 2009 general elections and the 2011 municipal elections, the DA announced a 30% target and a win in two more provinces. But DA leader Helen Zille has downplayed this target, saying it was never meant to be disclosed publicly.

But she added the party was well on its way towards it – getting almost 24% of the overall vote in the 2011 local elections – “until a rash of new parties came up”.

“It happens before every election. It happened in 1999 when the UDM started with Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer, and everyone said: ‘Oh here’s this new party, black leader, white leader, they’ll be able to do wonderful things and create wonderful outcomes.’”

“And then before 2004, Patricia de Lille arrived on the scene and there was massive euphoria about that.”

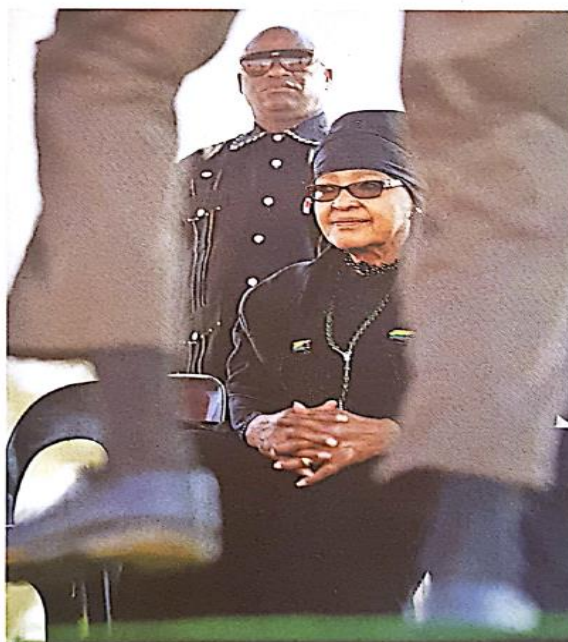
“And then in 2009, Cope [Congress of the People] came on to the scene and there was massive euphoria about that, and now before this election, there is the EFF and Agang,” said Zille.

“It is wrong to believe these parties take votes away from the ANC. They mostly thrive on opposition votes because opposition votes are in essence more fluid.”

According to Ipsos, the ANC will also win in Mpumalanga with 73%, Limpopo with 82%, North West

One of the saddest challenges we have to acknowledge and face is that white South Africans, in the main, only vote for parties led by a white person

JESSIE DUARTE



MOTHER OF THE NATION
Winnie Madikizela-Mandela during a pantsula dance performance at an ANC rally in Bekkersdal

PHOTO: LEON SADIKI

with 78%, Eastern Cape with 70%, Free State with 62%, KwaZulu-Natal with 73% and Northern Cape with 62%. It will retain Gauteng with a 58% majority.

The DA will win in Western Cape with 65%.

New kid on the block EFF will get 4.7% overall. Cope, which exploded on to the scene in 2009 with 7.3%, will plunge to 1.2%.

The IFP will get 1.9%, which is substantially lower than the 4.5% it won in 2009.

The elections could signal the end for liberation parties Azapo and the PAC.

Wednesday's elections are also likely to confirm that 20 years since the end of apartheid, voting continues to happen along racial lines. There is, however, a slight shift in identity voting patterns.

The Ipsos figures show the DA is likely to increase its share of black voters to 14%, while the ANC will increase its share of white voters to 5%.

Shan Balton, the executive director of the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation, said it was encouraging that the three main parties had emphasised nonracialism in their manifestos.

He said this election would result in the erosion of parties that contest elections on the “minority vote”. Balton also said parties needed to put more effort into reaching beyond their traditional support base, suggesting they had not done enough work on that score between elections.

ANC elections head Malusi Gigaba said his party was worried about its inability to appeal to white voters despite the fact that all the major research indicated that whites had benefited from its policies over the past 20 years.

He said the white middle and upper class’ share of the national income had increased since 1994, and it was instead the black working class that should be displaying a “greater sense of grievance”.

EFF leader Julius Malema said his party did not specifically tailor its message to white voters, but communicated the same message to all.

“We are not interested in colour fronting. That is racist. You don’t tell people what they want to hear,” said Malema.

ANC deputy secretary-general Jessie Duarte said the ANC would win “decisively”. She added: “It will be above 60%.”

Duarte insisted the ANC had broken racial voting patterns “quite a bit”.

“The reception in KwaZulu-Natal’s formerly Indian areas, as well as in Ennerdale and Eldos [Eldorado Park] in Gauteng, has been much better.”

“One of the saddest challenges we have to acknowledge and face is that white South Africans, in the main, only vote for parties led by a white person.”

“We need to delve into the heartbeat of this phenomenon,” she said.

Zille said her party had become more diverse. “Our elections lists are more diverse than ever before – some say we have gone too fast and others say we have gone too slow. I have to manage a complex set of challenges.”

“We do the most to spot really good talent and promote it. In the ANC, young leaders will wait four decades to get there,” she said.

Zuma beats Cape minstrels' drum

SIBUSISO NGALWA

PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma celebrated his 72nd birthday on the Cape Flats yesterday as the ANC fought to break the Democratic Alliance's control over the predominantly coloured area ahead of next month's elections.

And a party it was, with minstrels adding colour and Cape flavour to the ANC rally held at the Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone.

For the first time since the ANC started its election campaign, Zuma delivered a researched speech that focused on issues related to the coloured community of Cape Town. He had previously adopted a one-size-fits-all approach, repeating the same message at every rally.

He told the crowd that affirmative action would protect and promote coloureds as well as Africans.

"You don't need to be afraid. Some are using *swart gevaar* [black peril] tactics," he said. "Coloureds, just like Africans, must also get jobs."

"We will make sure more coloureds are promoted, especially in this province."

He accused the DA-controlled Western Cape government of not caring for coloured people.

"This provincial government fails to support the minstrels, *klopse* and Malay choirs and refuses to agree to the historical right to march."

"*Tweede Nuwe Jaar* [second New Year] was the only day of the year that the slaves were allowed to be free for the day, celebrating their day of freedom. It is for this reason that the minstrels' associations have asked the national government to intervene to declare the minstrels' route as a heritage route. They are working with [Arts

President celebrates his birthday with an appeal to the Cape Flats

and Culture] Minister Paul Mashatile [to achieve that]," he said.

Zuma also touched on education. He lauded the crowd for having "fought" to keep 27 schools open after Helen Zille's government tried to close them.

The ANC in the Western Cape, he said, was concerned about crime, gangsterism and drugs in the area.

He reached out to the Muslim community, affirming the ANC's commitment to the

have easily convened in Delft and have 15 000 people or in Khayelitsha and have 20 000 people ... but this is about the Cape Flats, which is supposed to be a DA-controlled area," he said. "Obviously, it is very difficult to jump from 31% [which the ANC obtained in 2009] to 45% [which the ANC won in 2004] ... but we will increase significantly and will bring the DA below 50%."

The DA obtained 51.4% of the Western Cape vote in the previous election, up from 27.1% in 2004.

Fransman said there were a number of factors that counted in the ANC's favour this time. He said the ANC had "effectively destroyed the Congress of the People — all their senior leadership and branches, all have come back to the ANC. We will get back the vote we lost to COPE in 2009."

COPE received 7.7% in 2009.

The ANC paraded its latest recruit, former DA chairperson in the Cape Town metro and mayoral committee member Grant Pascoe, who defected last week. The party is hoping to use his influence in the Cape Flats to dent the DA's dominance.

"What Grant has shown ... and has admitted is what we always believed — that coloured people in the DA are just being used as voting fodder."

"There are many Grant Pascoes that are talking to us. Helen Zille has effectively destroyed the DA. Last year she said they will get 30% nationally and 60% in the Western Cape; now she is just fighting to control the Western Cape," said Fransman.

ngalwas@sundaytimes.co.za

Helen Zille has effectively destroyed the DA. Now she is just fighting to control the Western Cape

struggle of the people of the Palestinian territories.

At the rally, a number of Cape Flats organisations endorsed the ANC for the elections.

The party's aim is to reduce the DA's majority to less than 50% and use the Cape Town vote to win back the province.

The ANC enjoys support in the province's rural areas and the predominantly African townships.

ANC provincial chairman Marius Fransman said the party's aim was to convince the Cape Flats community that Zille's government does not care about the poor.

"This is a community-endorsement rally. We could

Article 1 continued: Image attached to the right of the article on Page 2



ANC's voters shrug off Nkandla

GARETH VAN ONSELEN

AN exclusive Sunday Times election poll suggests the Nkandla scandal has not cost the ANC too dearly, although its support has declined marginally.

If the trend continues, a two-thirds majority on May 7 now looks unlikely for the party, especially if opposition voters turn out in high numbers.

The poll put support for the ANC at 65.5% on April 4, down from the 66.1% it registered in an earlier Sunday Times poll concluded at the beginning of March.

Julius Malema's Economic Freedom Fighters party appears to have benefited from disenchantment with the ANC; it came in slightly higher at 4%.

The Democratic Alliance was fractionally up as well, at 23.1%.

The new survey went into the field the day after public protector Thuli Madonsela's report on Nkandla was released on March 20.

The survey showed a decline in President Jacob Zuma's popularity among registered voters. His average score out of 10 (with one being "totally against" and 10 being "totally in favour") dropped from 6.5 in March to 6.2 across all voters.

Zuma was booed again this week, this time at a party rally. If his support continues to decline it could constitute a significant problem for the ANC in the closing weeks of the campaign.

In Gauteng and the Western Cape, the two primary battleground provinces of this election, the latest survey suggests the ANC and the DA have consolidated their earlier marginal majorities in the respective provinces, both receiving 60% support.

● For the full results of the survey, see Page 5

Exclusive Poll | Survey suggests ANC support down slightly to 65.5% as of April on average turnout of 74.5%

ANC still riding high among voters in spite of Nkandla scandal

GARETH VAN ONSELEN

A SECOND fully representative Ipsos survey of 2 219 registered voters, commissioned for the Sunday Times, puts support for the ANC at 65.5%, the Democratic Alliance at 23.1% and the Economic Freedom Fighters at 4% between March 21 and April 4.

The levels of support were calculated on an average voter turnout of 74.5%.

The turnout in the 2009 national election was 76%.

This second survey follows an earlier representative Ipsos survey of 2 222 registered voters.

That poll put support for the ANC at 66.1%, the DA at 22.9% and the EFF at 3.7% between February 20 and March 11, on the same turnout. Thus, it appears public protector Thuli Madonsela's report on Nkandla had only a marginally negative effect on the ANC's support by the beginning of April (down from 66.1% to 65.5%).

The report was released on March 19, the day before the survey was conducted.

Undecided voters (those who answered "don't know" or refused to say) were distributed in both surveys according to the political preferences they expressed in response to a range of other questions.

The result also suggests a two-thirds majority is still possible for the ANC, although it is becoming more remote as its support decreases. If that trend continues, support might well dip into the low 60s come election day on May 7.

The DA's support remains virtually unchanged (22.9%, up to 23.1%), and the EFF shows a marginal increase, up from 3.7% to 4%.

These figures indicate that the DA seems set to grow the most in this election. If it can hold on to its 23% share, it would represent growth of just less than six percentage points from the 16.6% it secured in 2009.

How the parties line up nationally

Political party	2009 election	March 11 poll	April 4 poll
ANC	65.9%	66.1%	65.5%
DA	16.6%	22.9%	23.1%
EFF	—	3.7%	4.0%
IFP	4.5%	1.4%	2.8%
AZAPO	0.2%	1.4%	0.5%
ACDP	0.8%	1.1%	0.8%
NFP	—	0.8%	0.3%
COPE	7.4%	0.7%	1.3%
AGANG SA	—	0.4%	—
PAC	0.3%	0.3%	0.1%
FF+	0.8%	0.3%	0.7%
AMP	—	—	—
UDM	0.8%	—	0.6%
MF	0.2%	—	0.2%
UCDP	0.4%	—	—
Other	—	0.7%	—

Results are based on turnout level of 74.5%. In the 2009 general election, turnout was 76%.

Graphic: MATTHYS MOSS

The ANC seems likely to lose some support. Its support is fractionally down from the 65.9% it secured in 2009.

The EFF did not exist in the 2009 election.

It is important to understand that this survey is not a prediction. It is a snapshot in time.

It shows the mood of the electorate five weeks from election day. There are still almost three weeks of electioneering to go and they will have an effect on the final levels of support.

Of the smaller parties, the Inkatha Freedom Party registered significantly for the first time, with 2.8%. The Congress of the People also secured more than a single percentage point, with 1.3%. Both parties' support would be down significantly from 2009 when they secured 4.5% and 7.9% respectively.

No doubt the ANC and, to a lesser degree the DA, have benefited from the relative collapse of these two parties. The EFF would have gained some ANC support.

Because the IFP vote relies on rural voters, there is a possibility it is slightly undercounted in this survey. The difference, however, would be marginal come election day. The same can be said of the EFF and the National Freedom Party (which registered 0.3% but will probably do slightly better).

Other parties that traditionally feature around the single percentage point range are unlikely to add to their support base. The African Christian Democratic Party hovers at 0.3%, the Freedom Front Plus at 0.7% and the United Democratic Movement at 0.6%. Worryingly,



for newcomer Agang, its support was so low it failed to register in this latest survey.

Its support was down from 0.4% on March 11.

It is important to note, however, that all these smaller opposition parties are well within the margin of error for the survey and so, off a low base, their support could fluctuate marginally when voters go to the polls.

One of the key measures of success for the DA in this campaign will be the support it secures among black voters.

In the first survey and at 22.9%, the DA secured the support of an estimated 6.5% of all black voters. In the second survey, at 23.1%, it registered 4.9% of all black support. The margin of error, however, is slightly bigger when analysing the DA's own voter universe (between 2.6% and 5.9%), and so it is fair to say its percentage of black support rests between 4% and 8% as of April 4.

That means it could end up with a greater proportion of all black voters than the EFF.

The DA does, however, have the most diverse support base of the big three. All black, white, Indian and coloured supporters break down among the parties as follows: ANC (83% of black voters; 4% of whites; 11.7% of Indians; 23.3% of coloureds); DA (4.9% of black voters; 84.1% of whites; 78.4% of Indians; 71.6% of coloureds); EFF (4.8% of black supporters; 0.4% of whites; 2.9% of coloureds).

garethvanonselen@gmail.com

Images from Article 2 located on and to the right of Page 5



THUMBS DOWN: President Jacob Zuma's popularity among all voters has taken a dive since the release of the report on Nkandla, below
Pictures: THULI DLAMINI and THEMBAKOSI DWAYISA



Article 3: (27 April, 2014, front page)

Image attached to Article 1 on the front page



Shots showed the shirts piled in a traffic police car. They were being given out by uniformed officers

MONICA LAGANPARSAD

HIS offence — taking pictures of a Gauteng traffic police vehicle being used to ferry ANC T-shirts during President Jacob Zuma's election campaign in Duduza, Ekurhuleni, on Friday.

Within seconds, a member of the presidential protection unit had grabbed eNCA reporter Nikolaus Bauer's cellphone and deleted the images that showed the T-shirts stacked on a traffic vehicle's back seat.

Bauer said he was accosted by a member of the SAPS VIP protection services after shooting pictures of the T-shirts. He said he had seen a uniformed traffic officer and two ANC officials handing out T-shirts to the crowd.

"As soon as I saw this I knew it was an abuse of state resources and I immediately snapped be-

tween 10 and 12 photos through the car's windscreen," he said.

Bauer said a man in plain clothes, who was part of the presidential protection unit, approached him and demanded that he delete the pictures.

"I refused and he grabbed my phone. We fought over it for about 10 seconds before he got hold of it. He deleted it and walked away, mumbling a warning," he said.

Simphiwe Nkwali, a senior Sunday Times photographer, who witnessed the incident, confirmed that the vehicle was carrying a pile of ANC T-shirts on the seat.

He said he heard the VIP protection unit officer say in isiZulu: "*Sisemliweni already ... nawe ufuna ukusifaka*" [We are in hot water and you want to put us in more trouble] please delete those pictures or else we will do it for you."

The television channel's group news editor, Ben Said, said they viewed the incident in a very serious light.

"I've tried to contact the head of the VIP unit, General [Mxolisi] Dladla, to arrange a meeting with him and the officer involved but I have yet to hear from him.

"It's very sad that this happens in a democratic South Africa."

He said ANC spokesman Keith Khoza had contacted him and Bauer to apologise.

He said that eNCA was considering lodging a complaint with the ANC and the protection unit.

Khoza said yesterday that deleting the photographs was an unfortunate incident.

"People must not interfere with journalists while they are working. We uphold the rights and freedom of the media."

Raymond Louw, press freedom spokesman for the South African National Editors' Forum, said it was "absolutely outrageous conduct by the VIP policeman who deleted the photos off Bauer's phone".

Louw said it was a "travesty of the 20-years-of-democracy celebrations".

Khoza sidestepped questions on why a state vehicle was used to transport ANC T-shirts.

"The Gauteng traffic department must investigate that," said Khoza.

Gauteng traffic department spokesman Busaphi Nxumalo said the vehicles were deployed by the office of Gauteng premier Nomvula Mokonyane.

"Those cars do belong to us but those officers were deployed as escorts. The issue of a uniformed officer handing out T-shirts will be investigated," Nxumalo said.



CAUGHT OUT: The Gauteng traffic department vehicle, middle, that transported the ANC T-shirts

No ANC two-thirds

- Latest poll shows ruling party falling back to low 60s
- DA predicted to enjoy steepest growth of any party
- Malema's EFF may get to send 19 MPs to parliament

GARETH VAN ONSELEN

PRESIDENT Jacob Zuma is set to secure his second term in office with a landslide victory — but not the two-thirds majority he has asked for in Wednesday's elections.

According to an exclusive Sunday Times poll conducted two weeks ago, the ANC will get 63.9% of the vote, down from the 65.9% the party won in the 2009 general election.

The survey, conducted by Ipsos on behalf of the newspaper, shows that support for the party has continued to decline from the 66.1% the ANC registered when a similar survey was conducted on March 11.

It shows South Africa's official opposition party, the Democratic Alliance, growing its support to 23.7%. Julius Malema's Economic Freedom Fighters party is expected to get 4.7%.

The figures are based on a voter turnout of 74.5%.

The results of this third survey, which comprised 500 call-back telephone interviews on April 23 with a representative sample of registered voters from the first two surveys, suggest that, barring something extraordinary, the following outcomes are likely come election day:



Battling

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Article 4 continued on front page

Following outcomes are likely come election day:

- The ANC will finish the election in the low 60% range, losing some support from 2009 and failing to secure the two-thirds majority Zuma said his government needed to "bring about a radical change".

- The DA will grow the most of all political parties in this election, finishing below 25% but up significantly from the 16.7% it achieved in 2009;

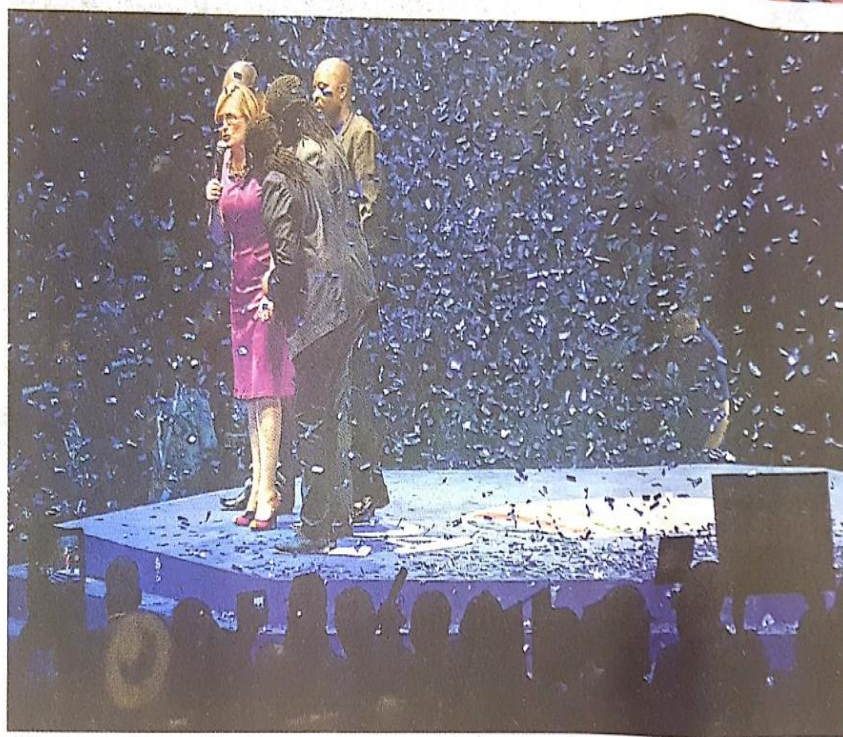
- There is a strong possibility that the DA will end up with a bigger percentage of all black support than the EFF. The Ipsos survey puts its support among black voters at 10%;

- The EFF will finish third, at about the 5% mark, but slightly less than the 7.4% the Congress of the People (COPE) achieved in 2009;

- The other newcomer, Agang SA, will struggle to breach the 1% barrier; and

- COPE will lose significant support in this election and, despite growing in the third survey (up to 3.4%), is likely to lose more than half the support it garnered in 2009.

The survey also shows that public protector Thuli Madonsela's report on Zuma's Nkandla homestead had only a negligible effect on



Battling to the Last Minute

President Jacob Zuma, above, takes the stage at a Workers' Day rally in Polokwane, Limpopo, this week. Left, DA leader Helen Zille addresses the crowd at her party's last rally before the elections in northern Johannesburg yesterday. Pictures: SIMPHIWE NKWALI and WALDO SWIEGERS

Madonsela's report on Zuma's Nkandla homestead had only a negligible effect on ANC support.

Professor Amanda Gouws from the University of Stellenbosch said "the impact of Nkandla is negligible because it seems to only matter to middle-class voters" and that "the survey confirms what analysts have been saying for the last few weeks — that the ANC's support will come down, but not below 60%".

Zuma said in East London

on Friday that he still expected a two-thirds majority victory.

"I have been in every province and the experiences have been absolutely wonderful. The love for the ANC is amazing... in fact, it is increasing with time," he said, adding that the party "is winning by an overwhelming majority, the kind of majority to move South Africa forward".

Zuma will be hoping to

demonstrate his party's electoral strength when the ANC holds its final Siyanqoba rally at the 94 000-seat FNB stadium this morning in Soweto. The party said it expected a further 200 000 party faithful to witness the rally at different public venues across South Africa through a television link.

Speaking at the DA's final election rally in Randburg yesterday, party leader Helen

Zille steered clear of predicting the outcome, but she called for "a bluenami" to sweep the ANC from power on Wednesday. "You hire with your vote and you fire with your vote," she said.

The survey suggests that her party will not reach the 30% mark she had initially predicted.

Using a scenario with a 74.5% voter turnout — the turnout in 2009 was 77% — the results of the third survey translate roughly as follows in absolute votes:

- ANC: 12 073 789 votes;
- DA: 4 478 072 votes; and
- EFF: 888 056 votes.

Political analyst Ebrahim Fakir said voter turnout would be a big factor in this election.

"Some nine million people decided not to register, which suggests a malaise, particularly among ANC voters."

"If there is a high turnout in favour of the opposition, then the DA, for example, might be able to achieve 22% or 23%, but if turnout is not disproportionately in their favour,

they will struggle and probably end up closer to 20%. But they seem well geared to bring their voters."

Fakir said that if there was a low turnout of ANC voters, "it could well dip into the low 60% range".

The main constraint for the EFF, he said, was that "young voters were generally apathetic when it came to registering and this might translate into fewer EFF voters".

Outside of the ANC, DA and EFF, the third survey had support for the remaining parties at: COPE 3.4%; National Freedom Party 1.3%; Pan Africanist Congress 1%; Inkatha Freedom Party 0.8%; Freedom Front Plus 0.3%; Agang SA 0.3%; and the African Christian Democratic Party 0.3%.

These predictions all fall within the margin of error for the survey, which was between 2.6% and 5.9%, and are thus less reliable than those for the bigger parties.

The last two weeks of the campaign are crucial for political parties because it is

during this period that undecided voters make up their minds.

The Ipsos survey allocated undecided voters to parties based on their responses to other questions, such as the favourability rating for particular leaders and how much they trusted those parties.

Without undecided voters allocated, the percentages for the big three were: ANC 56.4%, DA 18.2% and the EFF 5.5%.

A disproportionate number of undecided voters were allocated to the ANC and DA, driving down support for the EFF.

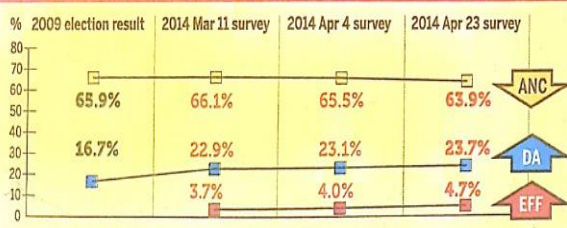
Roughly speaking, on a 74.5% turnout, a party would need 47 200 votes for one of the 400 seats in parliament.

Thus, on the third survey percentages, the ANC would be headed for 255 seats, the DA for 95 and the EFF for 19.

— Additional reporting by Sibusiso Ngaliwa and Jan-Jan Joubert

● See Pages 2, 15 and Editorial, Page 22

The Sunday Times surveys show support for the ANC declining, while the DA and EFF have made marginal but steady increases.



Political truce traps Vavi

Cosatu's reinstated general secretary is damned if he supports the ANC and damned if he doesn't

Matuma Letsoale

After a deal was brokered between Cosatu and the ANC, embattled trade union federation general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi could face the wrath of his supporters who have warned him that if he campaigns for the ruling party it will be "at his own peril".

The strong warning came from Irvin Jim, his long-time ally and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) general secretary.

It places Vavi in a dilemma, trapped between embracing the ruling party and being dropped by his supporters, who seem to be in no mood for reconciliation.

Numsa members directed their anger at Cosatu president Sibusiso Dlamini on Wednesday at the federation's shop steward council meeting in Johannesburg. They demanded to know about the timing of the intervention by the ANC's top brass, led by party deputy president Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday, which led to an apparent pre-election truce.

The move was aimed at averting Vavi being suspended again by his comrades in Cosatu and to prevent the expulsion of Numsa from the federation.

Vavi, who was suspended from his post for eight months, was reinstated last week after the Johannesburg high court found that his suspension was invalid.

The *Mail & Guardian* can reveal that Numsa's top brass also advised Vavi several months ago to step down as general secretary to avoid being pushed out by Dlamini's supporters at a central executive committee (CEC) meeting.

Numsa, a staunch supporter of Vavi, and eight other Cosatu affiliates challenged the decision to suspend Vavi in court.

The divisions in Cosatu have negatively affected the election campaign of its alliance partner, the ANC. Numsa, the largest Cosatu affiliate with more than 300 000 members, resolved in December last year not to campaign for the ANC. The party's last-minute intervention is seen as a desperate attempt to get workers behind it for the general elections on May 7.

Vavi apparently met with several ANC leaders before Tuesday's special Cosatu CEC.

The National Union of Mine-workers general secretary, Frans Baleni, said the CEC has instructed Cosatu office bearers to reconvene the central executive committee meeting within 14 days to discuss outstanding items on the agenda, including the Vavi judgment and Numsa's suspension.

A senior Cosatu leader sympathetic to Dlamini said there was nothing to prevent Cosatu from acting against Vavi again.

"You can deal with unity on the side. You can't surrender your constitution to others [the ANC]. The ANC understands Cosatu is an autonomous organisation and is capable [of taking] its own decisions. Our constitution remains intact. We welcome



Strained friendship: Cosatu general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi and Numsa's Irvin Jim (above). The Johannesburg high court has overturned Vavi's suspension, but a deal cut with Cosatu and the ANC has left him out of step with his supporters. Photos: Madelene Cronje and Daniel Born/The Times/Gallo Images

the ANC's intervention, but we must discuss the matter."

Although some of Vavi's supporters are unhappy with the ANC's intervention, senior party leaders this week told the *M&G* they expected Vavi, who is popular with the masses, to join the ANC on its campaign trail.

In an interview, Jim said the ANC only wants to use Vavi to gain support before the elections.

"They are doing it for elections," he said. "I see some people are saying we have smoked a peace pipe, but we know these fellows are coming back [to get rid of Numsa and Vavi]. It's a temporary delay. They will be coming back very shrewd. They can't tolerate Vavi."

"He [Vavi] must wake up. He has not crossed the Rubicon ... to see that nothing will change under the ANC. They will continue to mess him up."

Jim said he does not see how the ANC's intervention will help to resolve the tensions in Cosatu because the real issues that divide the federation have not been discussed.

"All that the ANC has done was to say we must postpone the discussion. It is misleading that Cyril has succeeded [in making] the unions smoke a peace pipe. There are no real issues that have been dealt with. The issue is about the revolution that has gone wrong. This is about South Africa's revolution. The revolution can't be facilitated," Jim said.

Numsa is also not happy about Ramaphosa and ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe being members of the ANC task team. Jim said Mantashe has long taken sides with the Dlamini-led faction, and



Ramaphosa is not trusted because of his involvement in Lonmin, a company whose striking miners were killed in Marikana.

Ramaphosa has since denied any involvement.

Numsa, which has openly announced its intention to form a labour party to contest the next elections, apparently tried to persuade Vavi to step down from Cosatu and join the union as head of special projects. It also wanted him to be part of the leadership of the new party.

But the *M&G* understands that some in Numsa do not want Vavi to be the face of the new labour party as they believe he does not share the same ideological views of most of the activists behind the proposed party.

"Ideologically, he is a problem," said one of them. "He is just wobbling. It is tough to lead a socialist party. But he can be part of the leadership collective."

Approached by the *M&G* this week, Vavi refused to comment on Jim's remarks and would not say whether he will campaign for the ANC.

"Why must I answer that?" he asked.

He laughed when asked about the position offered to him by Numsa.

Vavi also denied that he met ANC leaders before the Cosatu special CEC.

He said the intervention by the ANC was a good thing that everyone must commit to and honour.

Vavi told delegates at the *Daily Maverick* dialogue on Thursday that most divisions in the ANC-led alliance are not ideological but rather attempts by various factions to push one another from the "dinner table".

"The poor can see that the national democratic revolution is continuing to produce billionaires while they are still living in squalor," he said. "This is what is causing the divisions. The task of the revolution is to fight this." — *Additional reporting by Veneshni Pillay*

2014: The lame duck in waiting

Zuma's real test will come after the polls when his alliances unravel and the infighting begins

Mail & Guardian political staff

ANC president Jacob Zuma will find his second term at the Union Buildings far more difficult than the first. He is expected to face rebellious factions soon after appointing his Cabinet and deputy ministers.

Some of the rebellious factions, excluded from the Cabinet, are likely to coalesce around senior ANC officials.

This means Zuma's attempt to fix the country and leave a legacy will be derailed by party infighting and factional battles. Zuma, like the middle of his predecessor Thabo Mbeki's second term, will find it difficult to govern and his presidency will be closely scrutinised and questioned by his own party.

A veteran ANC MP aptly summed up the internal dynamics within the ruling party after the elections: "Stop living in the past and the present, starting thinking of the future."

For now, there is a strong push to save Zuma and the ANC the embarrassment of mustering less than 60% of the vote for the first time, with party leaders criss-crossing the country to shore up support ahead of the May 7 polls.

A lot of energy and effort are being spent on traditional Zuma's KwaZulu-Natal stronghold, which in the 2009 election brought in large numbers for the ANC, even though the party's support dipped in other provinces.

None of the factions in KwaZulu-Natal are prepared to raise their heads above the parapet, at least not now. Friend and foe alike are publicly supporting the president, knowing they should not alienate the ANC rank and file, if their ambition is to

lead the party in the future.

Although Nkandlagate, the divisions within Cosatu, calls for a "No Vote" by ANC stalwarts and the rise of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) are likely to make inroads into the governing party's majority, it is highly unlikely that the ANC will not be returned to power after May 7.

There is also a belief that the opposition's attempts to make mileage out of the Nkandla scandal have merely served to harden positions in the ANC, with unity and the strength of the party at the polls now paramount and more important than infighting.

In terms of the Constitution, Zuma can only serve as head of state for two terms, meaning that he is essentially a lame-duck president after May 7 when he returns as president for a second time, as was the case with Mbeki.

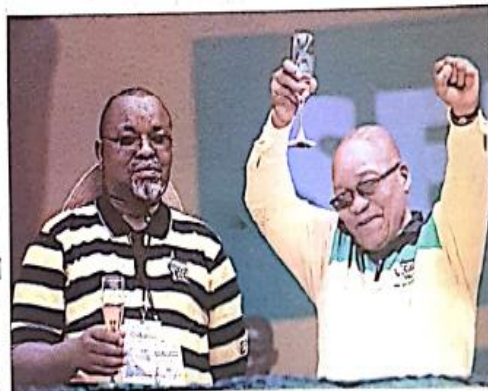
Even Zuma's attempts to use "Project Veritas", with which MP candidates were vetted by former spies for being "on message", and his intelligence network to solidify his position, are unlikely to work in the long term. Ambitions will take priority over a president who is generally accepted to be problematical and dispensable after this election.

The real battle in the ANC will start after Zuma announces his Cabinet, senior ANC leaders said. He will not be able to appoint all his allies in the ANC national executive committee (NEC) to the Cabinet, even if he enlarges his national executive beyond the current 67 ministers and deputy ministers.

Seventy-three percent of current NEC members are not in the Cabinet. What will make it even more difficult for Zuma is that the ANC wants to retain 60% of its current MPs for continuity. There is also a debate proposing that other Cabinet portfolios be merged, such as sports with arts and



Friends for now: Jacob Zuma and his comrades celebrate in Mangaung (above). But the relationship between Gwede Mantashe (far left) and Zuma has cooled. Photos: Delwyn Verasamy



ANC treasurer general, is known to harbour presidential ambitions. Mantashe is also understood to see a role for himself in the country's executive.

Moreover, those in the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal who have decided to bide their time will come out of the woodwork.

They include Bheki Cele and others, who are privately viewed as being part of the anti-Zuma camp in the province, but who have played a strategic game to ensure that, for now at least, they are not seen to be working against Zuma.

They hope, therefore, to be able to count on the support of the masses in the future and not be seen as having betrayed a president, who despite all his faults and controversies, remains popular among a significant majority in the province.

Some within the ANC are pinning their hopes on Zuma's possible recall before his term ends. A pro-Zuma NEC member told the *Mail & Guardian* that the president would not leave the Union Buildings until after the ANC's 2017 national elective congress.

"Anybody who thinks that [Zuma would leave earlier] is mad," the leader said.

"If he wants a smooth transition, he would wait for 2017, get an NEC that favours him, then say the ANC constitution discourages two centres of power and that he voluntarily resigns."

culture, the planning commission with monitoring and evaluation, and women, children and people with disabilities with social development.

Those who are overlooked will look for new alliances with an eye on securing their own future.

One minister said that Zuma's incessant criticism of the security cluster's handling of Nkandla report means ministers such as Nathi Mthethwa, who ironically saved Zuma in 2005 in the party's national general council from being sidelined over his corruption charges, are most likely to be excluded.

The ANC's secretary general, Gwede Mantashe, whose relationship with Zuma has deteriorated since the ANC's 2012 Mangaung conference, is one of the party officials who may attract the disgruntled.

"The problems with Gwede started about six months before Mangaung because he was not being clear about whose side he was on," a senior ANC source said. "He played both sides."

Mantashe said this week that "there has been an attempt to drive a wedge between me and President Zuma. I am not expecting it to stop."

After the elections and the Cabinet appointments, the current ANC NEC, which has been solidly behind Zuma, is likely to become divided, with no need to protect Number One any longer. The focus will turn to who will lead the ANC in 2017, with new alliances formed and jockeying for position, although Zuma is still eligible to run for a third term as party leader.

With no clear successor as a future ANC president, several ANC leaders are waiting in the wings. Usually, the deputy party president is elected to succeed the incumbent.

But ANC deputy president Cyril Ramaphosa's perceived closeness to Zuma and involvement with the Marikana massacre could count against him if the other factions dominate the party's conference.

Former KwaZulu-Natal Premier Zweli Mkhize, who is the current

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Once more, with feeling: May Day is D-day for Zwelinzima Vavi, who is expected to convey the 'good news'. Photo: Daniel Born/The Times/Gallo Images

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Vavi is back in the fold, and is being compelled to wave the ruling party's pom-poms

Matuma Letsoalo

Contrary to the public relations script of a ceasefire following a shaky truce, Cosatu has resorted to compelling its reluctant general secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi, to read from prepared notes and tell the ANC's "good story" in what is left of the election campaign.

Cosatu president Sdumo Dlamini said on Thursday that Vavi, who has yet to publicly pronounce his support for the ANC following his previous stated disapproval of the party's direction, will be forced to convince workers to vote ANC during a May Day rally in Port Elizabeth.

A senior ANC leader in Gauteng said two weeks ago that he would share the stage with Vavi to help the ruling party retain the province.

Vavi's profile and support among the workers, one of the ANC's key constituencies, is crucial to a ruling party facing its toughest poll since 1994.

However, on Wednesday a person known to be Vavi's closest ally was resolute about the fact that the embattled Cosatu general secretary had vowed not to campaign for the ANC, as he believed that doing so would compromise his credibility.

Vavi has stated previously that he would find it difficult to campaign for the ANC, as he said the party has failed to create decent jobs.

He has also publicly criticised the spending of R246-million to upgrade President Jacob Zuma's private home in Nkandla, the ANC's decision to adopt the National Development Plan, the party's refusal to ban labour brokers and the introduction of e-tolls in Gauteng.

Said Vavi's ally: "How does [Vavi] campaign for the ANC with all [its] anti-worker policy without compromising his credibility? It would be like committing class suicide."



But Dlamini is adamant that Vavi will carry forward the mandate of Cosatu and campaign for the ANC.

"We are in full swing, campaigning for the ANC," said Dlamini. "Vavi is deployed in Port Elizabeth for the May Day [rally]. Everyone [including Vavi] is expected to speak to the script."

Dlamini's faction in Cosatu supported Jacob Zuma's second term as ANC president in 2012, while Vavi's faction criticised Zuma's leadership.

The prepared notes, according to Dlamini, touch on the gains made over the past 20 years under the ANC government, as well as during the five years under Zuma.

"All our leaders will tell workers why it is important to vote for the ANC," said Dlamini. "We should tell them we expect the ANC to implement issues that we have raised, like a total ban on labour brokers and fixing the economic chapter of the National Development Plan. No other party can implement those issues."

He said Vavi had also agreed during the Cosatu's top officials' meeting on Wednesday to be deployed in the Eastern Cape this coming weekend to campaign for the ANC.

"No one said no to the deployment. He [Vavi] is mandated by the central executive committee and the [top officials] to perform the functions of Cosatu," said Dlamini.

Vavi could not be reached to respond to these allegations.

So far, Vavi, who was suspended by Cosatu but reinstated by the Johannesburg high court, has managed to stay away from ANC events. But May Day is D-day for him.

The federation's hardline approach signals Dlamini's impatience with Vavi's apparent decision to keep a low profile after ANC deputy president Cyril Ramaphosa's attempt earlier

this month to reconcile the warring factions within the federation.

Vavi faces the dilemma of either continuing his harsh tone against the ruling party and risking isolation after the elections, or betraying his angry supporters in the metalworkers union who want him to renounce the ANC.

Irvin Jim of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) has already warned Vavi that the knives are still out for him, and for the union.

"It does not matter if he campaigns or not. No amount of good or bad things will change the views of his enemies," Jim said on Wednesday.

He said Vavi should deal with workers' issues at the May Day rally on Thursday, rather than campaigning for the ANC.

Some of the metalworkers have angrily rejected the Ramaphosa ceasefire deal, adding to Vavi's predicament.

On the other hand, Cosatu's transport union warned Vavi that failure to campaign for the ANC would amount to him being a metalworkers' puppet.

South African Transport and Allied Workers' Union (Satawu) general secretary Zenzo Mahlangu said on

Thursday: "We would be very worried if he [Vavi] is not taking the mandate from the main structure [Cosatu]. We are looking to him to address the May Day gathering and campaign for the ANC."

On Wednesday, Vavi was still cagey regarding his support for the ANC and ambiguous about his loyalty towards the metalworkers.

"Numsa's decisions don't bind me. They are not Cosatu's policies. They will become policies of the federation once they are adopted by the national congress of Cosatu," Vavi told the *Mail & Guardian*.

Vavi also took issue with some of the workers who had attacked him on social media.

"Attacks on my person by some or putting pressure on me to break ranks with Cosatu on its decision to support [the] ANC is not fair," he tweeted.

Pressed on whether he would campaign for the ANC, Vavi was evasive. He wanted to see Cosatu united and would respect the ANC's intervention process.

"I want to give it my best shot. I don't want anyone to say I didn't try hard [to resolve divisions in Cosatu]. But this unity is not unconditional. It can't come at any price. We will strive for unity so that we can be a trade union which has workers' interests at heart, not an extension of any political party," he said.

He admitted that some of the workers are "sceptical about the ANC's intervention", and that this view is "not ill-informed".

"They are asking me if the ANC would have intervened if the court did not find Cosatu's decision to suspend me invalid. They are asking why the intervention is happening so close to the elections," said Vavi.

Vavi was suspended from his position eight months ago after he admitted to having sex with a subordinate, but the decision was reversed earlier this month after the court found that Cosatu had not followed proper suspension procedures.

In response to his suspension, Numsa, Cosatu's largest affiliate, resolved not to campaign for the ANC at its special congress last December.

Amandla to Nkandla



The cartoon used on the front page is the cover image for Zapiro's 20-year special collection, *DEMOCRACY* (Jacana), to be released in June this year

Mac the Mouth to oversee

A restructuring of the Cabinet is on the cards, with a new information ministry and second deputy president

Mmanaledi Mataboge

After five years of crisis management and hopping from one scandal to another, President Jacob Zuma wants an information ministry, based on the Zimbabwean, Chinese and Russian models, to clean up his image.

His spokesperson, Mac Maharaj, is earmarked to become the minister of information, assisted by the current international relations communications head, Clayton Monyela, as director general.

Zuma is likely to return as president and, according to officials close to him, he is determined to tidy up his first-term mess with the new "propaganda ministry" and by restructuring his government. This entails recreating the post of a second deputy president to monitor performance, phasing out some ministries and dropping some ministers. Zuma reconfigured the government when he came to power in 2009 and split some departments, created new ministries and changed the names of others.

The information ministry was apparently identified as being central to re-imagining his administration and leaving an impressive legacy.

Government sources said research on and preparations for the ministry are at an advanced stage.

The ANC head of communications, Lindiwe Zulu, said the ministry was proposed at the ANC's 2012 conference but that she is not aware that it is about to be implemented.

The *Mail & Guardian* spoke to three sources — two senior government officials with intimate knowledge of the plan and an ANC national executive committee member.

Maharaj is the preferred candidate because of his age (79), seniority and relationship with Zuma. The *M&G* understands that other candidates initially considered were ANC spokesperson Jackson Mthembu and Zulu.

Monyela and Mthembu both said on Thursday that they are not aware of the discussions, and Maharaj said the mooted ministry is "totally out of my knowledge".

But a government source said:



Surprise! Mac Maharaj is being touted as a new minister of information, tasked with projecting a positive image of the government in general and Zuma in particular. Photo: Madelene Cronje



Information central: Clayton Monyela is likely to be Maharaj's director general

"The rationale is that the combination of Maharaj's political acumen and Monyela's innovative approach to government communications will result in a powerful propaganda machinery in Zuma's second term."

Zulu said that the ANC had discussed possible ways of improving government communication because its weakness is "a sore point in the ANC", but that she knows "nothing" about the establishment of the information ministry.

Even if there was such talk, "it would have been a discussion by the officials of the ANC".

The new information department is likely to be the nerve centre of government propaganda.

"The department will be the central source of communication and information on behalf of all spheres of government on a daily basis," one source said. "Countries like Zimbabwe have taken a similar route."

It would incorporate BrandSA and the Government Communication and Information System, and also influence the country's foreign public relations, complementing the work of the department of international relations and co-operation.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) is said to have discussed a number of models, including the Zimbabwean one established by Zanu-PF's Jonathan Moyo. South Africa's will consist of a mix of several such systems, including features

of the Chinese communist, Russian, British and American models.

A senior official in the presidency said: "The model used by the Chinese and Russians, in particular, has impressed us ... Also, how the United States influenced public opinion on the war in Iraq."

He said the government's communications is criticised for "having no coherent strategy, failing to set the agenda, being reactive, lacking visible, sustainable campaigns [and] a slow response to issues. Government communicators were also slammed for not being robust and bold enough, failing to tell positive stories and generally leaving government 'exposed'."

Part of Zuma's attempt to leave a "positive legacy" is to "act tough on corruption".

A senior government official told the *M&G* that Zuma is concerned about the largely negative media coverage he has received since he became president in 2009.

"Zuma feels he has gotten a raw deal in his first term. If you look at service delivery, he has not done very badly but it's the scandals that are remembered."

Government departments will still have their own communicators, but the information department will be the "key state propaganda machinery".

"Every morning, we must wake up and know which department is going to issue what statement," one of the sources said.

An ANC NEC member said that discussions about weak government communication and a new information ministry are being fuelled by "an onslaught on both the government and the president".

The last time South Africa had a prominent information ministry was in the 1970s. But the propaganda war that it launched on behalf of the apartheid state ended in the Muldergate scandal, named after the information minister in the John Vorster Cabinet, Connie Mulder. Mulder clandestinely used millions of rands in secret funds to set up front companies and establish the *Citizen* newspaper.

The scandal broke in 1977 and led to the collapse of Vorster's government the next year, with PW Botha taking over as head of state. (See "How apartheid state tried to spin the news")

How apartheid state tried to spin the news

In the 1970s the apartheid government under then prime minister John Vorster was ruling over a pariah state.

Its traditional allies in the West had publicly turned against it, with mass protests in the streets of capitals across the world. Everyone seemed to be part of what the government dubbed a "hate South Africa crusade", recalls the South African History Online website.

Local publications were accused of only focusing on the bad news — and not telling any good stories.

The state then decided that agencies would have to give more posi-

tive viewpoints on the country. So in 1973 Vorster turned to his information minister Connie Mulder. He proposed that R64-million be taken from the defence budget to be used for propaganda.

International news agencies would be bribed to tell more positive stories; the *Washington Star* was targeted for purchase. Money was laundered through Swiss bank accounts, with the Bureau of State Security and the finance ministry taking the lead in the secret campaign.

To guide the message locally, the *Citizen* was established as a coun-

ter to the liberal *Rand Daily Mail*. To make this seem legitimate, the newspaper was officially owned by millionaire Louis Luyt, but the funding came from the state.

This was the only part of the scheme that seems to have succeeded (with the *Citizen* still running today, albeit under totally different ownership).

In 1977 the *Rand Daily Mail* broke the story, which became known as "Muldergate", named after its chief architect. The ensuing scandal toppled the government and led to the rise of PW Botha to top office. — Siphos Kings



Zuma's legacy



Promotion: Baleka Mbete is likely to be the second deputy president, who will monitor ministers, provinces and councils. Photo: Lisa Skinner

The Zuma information ministry is part of a massive restructuring of the fifth post-apartheid government.

He wants a second deputy president for the country, in addition to his ANC deputy Cyril Ramaphosa. Democratic South Africa had two deputy presidents, but that came to an end in 1996 when FW de Klerk pulled his National Party out of Nelson Mandela's government of national unity.

Adding another deputy president requires a simple majority to amend the Constitution.

It is believed that ANC chairperson Baleka Mbete will enter the Union Buildings' west wing in the position, with the role of monitoring performance in all spheres of government.

The case for doing away with the ministry of performance and monitoring emanated from the fact that "no minister is considered senior enough to oversee the performance

of his colleagues in Cabinet. You need to elevate that responsibility to a deputy president," the presidency source said.

This is the main reason why Zuma's government is considering the position, although his office has denied this. The plan is to collapse the departments responsible for governance under one deputy president, leaving the other to support the president in shouldering the other responsibilities of the state.

"This would accommodate both [former deputy president and current ANC chairperson] Baleka Mbete and Cyril Ramaphosa, and would also address the gender question," one of the government sources said.

A new deputy president will also be charged with overseeing the performance of the provinces and municipalities. This means that Collins Chabane, the current minister responsible for performance, will

either be kicked out or reassigned.

Zuma is expected to trim his Cabinet further by scrapping five ministries — national planning; performance monitoring and evaluation; women, children and people with disabilities; co-operative governance and traditional affairs; and economic development.

He has been widely criticised for having a bloated Cabinet, which was increased from 28 to 34 ministries when he took over five years ago.

In February, ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe told ANC volunteers in King William's Town that the party was discussing a new ministry for small and medium enterprises and co-operatives, to drive job creation.

The co-operative governance department is considered a failure because, regardless of who has led it, "it has been making no impact", according to a government official. "Service delivery protests are hap-

pening under its watch and municipalities are in disarray."

The women's ministry is also "equally weak" and some in the ANC have recommended that it be merged with social development.

Zuma is also said to be mulling changes in the economic cluster. Some ANC leaders have been advocating that former Reserve Bank governor Tito Mboweni should take over as finance minister.

Maharaj said he was "totally ignorant" of plans to close down and reconstitute some ministries.

But another senior government official said it sounded "reasonable to speculate in that direction".

"Whether it's happening because there is a need to accommodate powerful politicians or to improve service delivery is something else. The president has got to balance political considerations with service delivery considerations."